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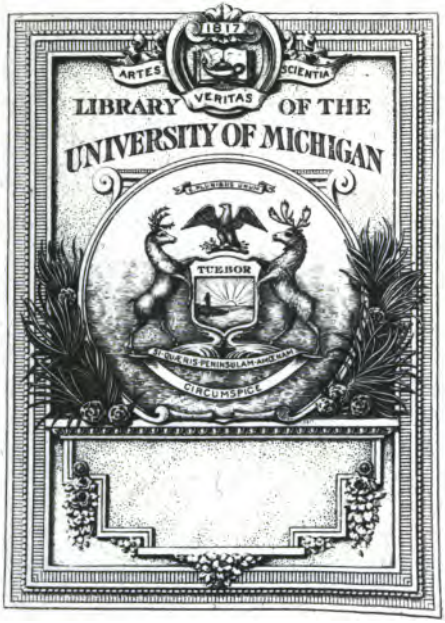
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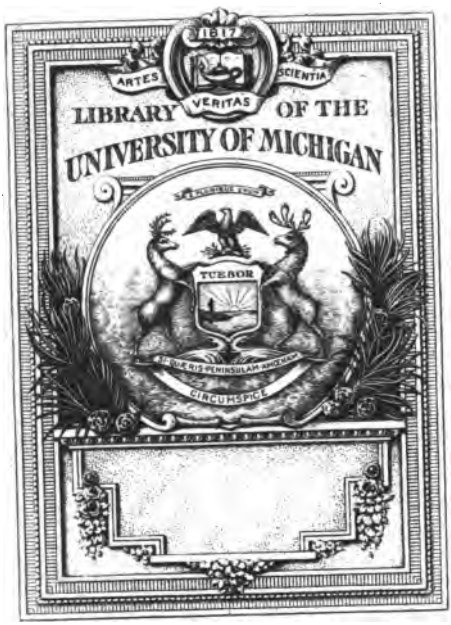
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THE CHURCH'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS TRUTH

BY

EDWARD PRESTON USHER, A.M., LL.B.

"Say nothing which you do not believe to be true because you think it may be helpful. Keep back nothing which you know to be true because you think it may be harmful."

Bishop Phillips Brooks.
Life, II., 178.

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To the men who, whether as bishops, clergymen
or laymen, influence the intellectual
life of the Churches

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FOREWORD.

I HAVE a friend who has many times said to me, "We are all cowards. We do not say what we think and, by our silence, we allow it to appear that we agree with a thousand things with which we really do not agree at all. In politics, in society and in religion we are all cowards and we ought to be ashamed of ourselves."

This is certainly a serious indictment and in defense we are forced to plead the complexity of the matters involved, the profound ignorance and prejudice we should have to meet, as well as the popular lack of interest in truth as such. We say that we fear lest by speaking we may do some harm to society, that we may tear down and be unable to rebuild something better in its place. We say that no one wants to listen to us and that, in being silent, we do but obey the Church. But the silence really springs from the desire to secure personal peace, from the unwillingness to face unpopularity, from the desire for preferment. The easy life is one of conformity to what is conventional and, in

the case of reflecting men, this conformity necessitates silence, which is the price paid for social ease. We say that there are many who can speak more clearly and forcibly than we could, that we have no pedestal to speak from, that our attempt to speak would savor of impertinence and that we are justified in deferring to such great institutions as the Church. We say that the individual is so obscure and weak that he need feel no responsibility in these matters. But while we urge these and countless similar excuses we know that at the root of the whole business is cowardice and we are secretly ashamed of it, however bold a face we assume in public. In all departments of life there are too many men who know and think and see clearly who, in a large degree, keep silent through a cowardly fear of the men who do not know or think or see. I know that all this is true and so I propose to summon up courage and say what for many years I have been wishing some one else would say.

I shall be obliged to criticize some remarkable utterances made by the prelates of a great Church. I am aware that it is an unusual thing for a layman to criticize the statements of such an august body as the House of Bishops. I do not know that there

is any precedent, but, if there is none, it seems to me desirable to create one so far as it is in my power so to do. Since their Pastoral of 1894 I have waited for more than a decade hoping that some one else would speak; but my waiting has been in vain. I therefore propose to break the silence with which that utterance was received, for in 1904 in another Pastoral they requested and directed all who do not agree with that document to keep silent or withdraw.

Now I should much prefer to keep silent and I can certainly derive no sort of advantage from any utterance I may make, but it does seem cowardly to be thus requested to withdraw and never even to state your own side of the case. The clergy with whom I sympathize are called traitors and perjurers and it is cowardly to submit to this without a word of protest.

It is a remarkable survival of the old medieval spirit that a man, who in every other way is entirely free from it, is still conscious of the all-pervading idea that it is improper for a layman to argue with a priest or question the soundness of his doctrinal statements or decline to obey his commands. But however clearly I see that in practice all has been aimed at the complete subordination of the laity, I know well that such is not the *theory* of the great Church

of England, from which the Protestant Episcopal Church sprang and of which it is truly a part. If then, in criticizing this august body, I violate the common and customary etiquette, I do this in obedience to the higher spirit of the Church which places on every member, even the humblest, his full share of responsibility for her safety, her welfare and her sanity.

In the midst of so much utter indifference on the part of the great mass of people and so much prejudice and bitterness on the part of those who claim to be the only true type of Christians, it must always seem as if the human and rational ideal of life was likely to be extinguished and lost; but it is still true that every age sees a steady gain and that progress, not retrogression, is the law. This is now established by the history of so many centuries that we cannot doubt. The conservative temperament and the reactionary tendency are simply the governor or speed regulator on the social engine. They will not stop the machine but operate to keep its speed within safe limits.

But that the social status should improve demands at least a modicum of intellectual honesty in a minority, and this cluster of men is likely in every age to be sacrificed on the altar of progress as a constantly recurring crucifixion of the Christ, which is thus a fixed element

in our social life. The high priest is always the typical persecutor, for it is a constant struggle between the Church and the advancing thought of the world.

In the face of all this we must needs recognize from a social point of view the value of silence and conformity, and I indeed have long realized this to such an extent that I have repeatedly made the most serious effort to banish from my mind all thought upon the subject of theology. I have tried to see that it was foolish to struggle against so vast an aggregation of wealth and social power as lies back of the popular theology. I have seen that not to keep silent sacrificed great social advantages and, most subtle argument of all, that it diminished my influence and opportunity for service. But despite all this, I have never been able to renounce this study. I have been compelled to see more and more clearly the hollowness of the conventional thought and the superior dignity and value of certain ideas which are branded as heresy.

Many men seem unable to distinguish the Church as it is in its theory, as a great, comprehensive, national institution designed to include all men who aim at righteousness in life and conduct, from what it is practically in everyday life, as fashioned and determined by the men who control its administration. This

latter aspect, in which it appears as a more or less exclusive club, is, of course, the Church we actually know and feel as a living thing and most men will not concede that there is or can be any other view of it.

Now all there is that seems splendid and attractive to me is just that side which, in this country at this present time, is only to be found in the higher literature of the Church, and of the existence of this you would not get so much as a hint or suggestion in any ordinary parish Church. Read this literature and you feel that a new day has dawned, that medievalism has at last passed away, as it truly has in the realm of all higher thinking. Enter, however, into almost any Church, and you will hear the unctuous repetition of the old platitudes before congregations that do not seem to suspect that such a literature even exists. In the literature there is a clear and sustained light which is attractive and compelling to the reason, while the Churches maintain for the people the same old medieval mysticism, repelling the reason and alienating reflecting men. To have seen this clear light and to so declare is to be ostracized in nearly all circles of conventionalists, and such constitute the vast majority. For this the clergy are alone to blame. To explain this matter so that such people shall come to really

understand it, shall see that it is not dangerous and destructive but glorious and truly constructive, is one of the great needs of our day. These conventionalists constitute the bone and sinew of the Church, and a reasonable fear of their present prejudices paralyzes a vast number of the clergy and arrests the normal development of the Church. To get into the popular mind the results of this rich and splendid literature should be our aim. Upon this literature of the Church I have mainly been nourished. Whatever ideas I have were secured by following the leadership of distinguished Churchmen. By them I have been stimulated, and in their company I have found entire sympathy. To them I owe a large part of the joy of living, but this companionship has been altogether confined to books. It is in the printed page that I have communed with all these men, for I have never as yet heard a living human voice express what seemed to me to be the higher intellectual ideas of the Church. My entire life in this direction has, therefore, been one of isolation marked by silence and conformity in all social relations as dictated by necessity. I found sympathy and inspiration in the literature of the Church, but most of those who spoke to me were dead. With those whose books I read and who were still living I had no possible personal

connection, so that all this communion has always lacked the personal touch.

A man of my type is not allowed to remain in doubt as to the fact that he is not wanted in the parish Church. He is told that all his ideas are heretical and dangerous, and that his presence, if he means freely to express those ideas, is a distinct embarrassment. To avoid unseemly strife, under conditions which seem to preclude any fruitful and beneficial results, he keeps silent and practically withdraws, losing all touch with the parish clergy. He is, however, merely forced out into a wider and larger field, where he lives in the spirit with a group of Archbishops and Bishops, Deans and Canons, including some of the greatest preachers of the Church, living or dead. He loses the parochial atmosphere, but he lives in the more generous and stimulating air of the universal Church. He lives with these greater men, for he may possess and read their books in which they have enshrined their spirits, and this to him is a true communion with the saints.

From this no bishops or clergy have any power to exclude him, and of this they cannot deprive him, for in this domain of the spirit they have no jurisdiction, not even the very slightest. They may control patronage, may punish with social and ecclesiastical ostracism, may

stigmatize as heretic, and thus excite prejudice, which may cause pain, but there they must stop. In the realm of the spirit the humblest layman has the same right, duty and privilege to speak to them that they have to speak to him. He may deny all their ecclesiastical pretensions to any power, right or authority to cramp and fetter any Church member's mind or spirit, and this denial he may make as a member of the Church, justified by her laws and formularies.

I believe that the Broad wing of the Church, which it is now sought to brand as heretical, is destined in the future to become her main supporting column. If the Church is to continue into the distant future it must stand for true catholicism and not medievalism. The Broad Churchman may seem to-day to be clinging to a forlorn hope, but it is not really so, for great forces are silently at work under the crust of appearances, and to avert the destructive consequences and in the future crisis to meet successfully the necessities of the hour is his mission. In the impending collapse of a discredited philosophy, the Broad wing is the constructive agency that will replace the old with a new and better system which, without break of historic continuity, will meet and satisfy the changed intellectual conditions.

That this must finally involve an entire change of the

theological point of view, that it must inevitably lead to what many will consider a new conception of God and man, ought no longer to be concealed or denied. The issue goes to the very roots of Church life and necessitates a scrutiny of its fundamental bases. It is to be a second Reformation, which has been presaged and foreshadowed by a remarkable Church literature which has as yet but partially reached the great mass of its members, but which is destined some day to reach and influence them in a marked degree. The duty of the Broad wing is to work patiently and wait, never admitting for a moment, in the presence of any clamor whatever, that the work cannot properly be done inside the Church under a correct understanding of its present laws and formularies.

If the Church had been true to its own fundamental ideal and theory it would long ago have relegated to studious and reflective men, who alone are vitally interested, the whole matter of theology for free and unfettered treatment. It is really the philosophy of religion and is only fitted for the consideration of such men. It can never be adequately grasped by those who begrudge time and effort. The Church should concentrate all its energy upon the promotion of righteousness in life and conduct, which can be fully

realized under many variant theologies. Do we not know as a fact that righteousness is possible for many degrees of intelligence and many stages of culture? Its promotion should never be hindered by dissensions about systems of philosophy and metaphysics.

The Church test should not be a matter of intellectual opinion but a desire to attain unto righteousness. The well-nigh universal disregard of this is the chief cause dividing the Church into wrangling sects and weakening its hold upon the conscience of man. The Church has persistently hindered the growth of the larger thought and clearer insight and this has alienated thousands who should stand, and otherwise would have stood, in its foremost ranks. To seek now to accentuate this unfortunate tendency, to seek to expel men whose only offense is that they eagerly devote themselves to the conscientious pursuit of philosophic truth, is nothing less than an ecclesiastical crime, and it can only lead to intellectual decadence and paralysis in the Church. We must not acknowledge or believe that such is to be the fate of the great, historic English Church. The dogmatic yoke is to be broken and, when this is completely accomplished, theology will find its true place as a form of philosophic thought. Freed from ecclesiastical restraints the mind will go on to

achieve still greater and nobler results, seeking the secret of the universe and reaching a more adequate interpretation of the terms "God" and "Man." With entire freedom will come a more general and profounder interest as the ever-increasing light of knowledge promises more definite results. Its study will enlist energies that are now cramped and held in check by fear.

This ideal of the Church will finally be recognized and accepted. It may and will be delayed, but it is not ultimately to be crushed or defeated.

THE CHURCH'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS TRUTH.

I.

THE CHURCH'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS TRUTH.

In 1891 Rev. Howard Macqueary was tried for heresy in the diocese of Northern Ohio. In 1906 Rev. A. S. Crapsey was similarly tried in the diocese of Western New York. Each was tried for the same alleged divergencies from the common and popular interpretation or understanding of the creed, for having gone beyond conventions and traditions, for having been true to personal convictions rather than to dogma. Each was found guilty despite the fact that his life disclosed a fine type of Christian character. It was useless to appeal to the formularies or to anything else. Each had published a book which throbbed with the desire to improve existing conditions and uplift society. Each book was written in a sane and intelligent manner and proved the writer to be a sincere, conscientious and high-minded gentleman of a type that is indeed scarce in this age of commercial greed. No Church

even pretends to desire a finer type of character than these men disclosed. They would have commanded and received the courtesies of refined Christian society the world over and their right to this would not have been questioned for a moment by a single person except on the most technical ecclesiastical and dogmatic grounds.

Such cases operate to the scandal and evil repute of the Church at large. If the Church were really what is implied by the degradation of such clerics, it would, for all reflecting men, cease to be an object of interest. Such cases do not, however, reflect the spirit of the Church, but are due to purely local influences and in any large way have no significance whatever. They do not indicate the spirit of the greater Church of which these dioceses are a small part and yet there is no constitutional way in which the Church as a whole can prevent such displays of pure ecclesiasticism. This is so because the Protestant Episcopal Church is merely a federal union of sixty-three dioceses, each of which is independent and sovereign, except so far as affected by legislation in the General Convention. The union is similar to that by which, in our national life, the Articles of Confederation sought to bind together sovereign states. This sort of union has served admirably for religious purposes, although in political life it was weak and ineffective.

The only federal body is the General Convention which meets every third year. It corresponds to

Congress and is composed of two houses. The House of Bishops, corresponding to our national Senate, represents the conservatism of age, superior dignity and social position. The House of Deputies consists of clerical and lay delegates from the dioceses, there being an equal number of each class. Every diocese, whether it be large or small, has the same number of deputies. This body corresponds to our national House of Representatives. All legislation must receive the approval of both houses. In the Deputies, the dioceses vote as units and also the clergy and laity vote separately, a concurrence of the two orders being needed to constitute effective action by that house. It is easy to see that such a plan reduces the restraint upon the dioceses to the minimum point. There is no executive federal head and no body with executive functions so that when the Convention has adjourned there is no machinery that can operate upon the dioceses to enforce obedience to the general laws passed by the Convention. It is as if in our national life there were no President or other executive officers, no army or navy, no federal courts of any description, so that when Congress adjourned there would be literally no person to speak with authority for the idea of federal union, and even when Congress were in session there would be no officers to execute its commands. Under such circumstances it is clear that the states would be very nearly as sovereign as if there were no union at all.

In the diocese the bishop stands as a governor elected for life and there is a diocesan convention which corresponds to our state legislature. The general constitution provides in express terms that every bishop shall confine the exercise of his functions to his own proper diocese, and that in every diocese the mode of trying presbyters and deacons may be instituted by the diocesan convention. Thus there is complete diocesan autonomy which gives free scope for the development of diocesan peculiarities. As in political life one state is known as irrecoverably Republican or Democratic and at any election its vote is always counted upon as certain, so one diocese may be irrecoverably High, another may be just as certainly Low, and over all this there is no possible control any more than in the case of the states.

If a man is lynched in Georgia there is nothing that Maine can do about it except to regret it. Although the two are members of the federal union, the fact that a man is lynched in Georgia does not show that he would have been lynched in Maine and it certainly is not significant of the law or opinion prevalent throughout the union. So if there is a heresy case in Ohio, it is as purely local as a case of lynching and the decision has no general significance. Because the man was found guilty of heresy and degraded does not show that it was approved by the Church as it exists in the sixty-two other dioceses. Nothing can be done

about it any more than in political life other states can do anything about lynching. In this respect the diocese is sovereign, for there is no federal Supreme Court to which an appeal may be had on the merits. The Church at large has had no machinery which would enable it to guarantee righteous treatment of a member by any diocese. If a diocese has chosen ecclesiastically to lynch a member it has been able to do so with impunity, for his fate has rested entirely in local hands. What will be the outcome of the recently instituted departmental courts of review it is hard to say, but it is not at all likely that they will operate as any considerable check on diocesan abuses.

It is easy, therefore, to exaggerate the importance and significance of heresy trials in such a Church, for it is not really one body acting as a unit but sixty-three independent and sovereign bodies loosely held together by ties that in a legal and coercive sense are feeble. The Church at large is not powerful enough to protect an individual member from a perversion of Church laws in any diocese. In fact there is no Church at all in the larger sense, for it is merely a sentimental tie that unites the dioceses, a mere mental conception of a national Church which is an ideal and not a living body with executive functions and coercive authority. If in all this, there are disadvantages, there are also corresponding advantages which are genuine blessings. No sensible man wants to change it and

put the fetters of a hierarchy on the dioceses. All that is needed is to remember always the facts and never judge as significant in a large way what is purely local and transitory. What leads in rare cases to repression and abuses operates all the time in a large and broad way for freedom and progress; so that it seems clear that the founders of the federal Church union did well to leave the dioceses where we now find them, free and independent.

The unity of spirit and loyalty to the General Convention has, however, been very remarkable. This in a large degree is due to the fact that all these really independent dioceses have looked to the Church of England as the type of what was normal and excellent in a spiritual and intellectual sense, have received and absorbed her literature as their own, have been influenced by her current thought and have shared her hopes and fears. And yet, despite this, the Church in the United States exemplifies and expresses the national spirit in a striking way. Its organization reflects the political ideals that characterize the country at large. Its history is a testimony to the singular value of the federal principle and shows that coercive authority is not needed when men are dominated by the same general ideals. It is true that nothing would at any time have been more repugnant to the Churches in this country than even the very slightest degree of subjection to any control by the Church of England.

Not a shadow of it would have been tolerated in any administrative sense. No deference to the parent Church, no respect however profound, no sense of historic continuity would have availed to induce the Church in this country to diminish in the least its independence and autonomy. While all this is true, what is really a cluster of Episcopal State Churches has been held in the bond of unity by the contemplation of the great Church the other side of the ocean as embodying their common ideal. More than any and all other influences this explains the success of the experiment of a federal union between these independent dioceses. Each diocese has felt not only that it was a part of the national Church but that this itself was also a part of a racial Church and that yet each diocese sacrificed no valuable feature of its own diocesan life by its relation to these greater and broader conceptions of the Church any more than the individual member sacrifices any valuable feature of his individual life by his relation to his own diocese. The thought disclosed through it all is separate individual lives, independent and self-controlled but unconsciously dominated and united by a common spirit, ideal and purpose. This concept is peculiarly English: conscious independence coupled with unconscious subjection to the ideal whereby voluntarily and gladly is surrendered that which might render individualism vulgar, offensive and dangerous.

We may therefore say truly that the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States is, in every intellectual and spiritual sense, an integral part of the Church of England. Free and independent as it is, in all the administration of affairs, it nevertheless has been, and is, essentially loyal to the ideas, theories and aspirations of the great body from which it sprang, and has always reflected, in the main, even its prejudices, passions and fears.

It formally declared in the preface to its Prayer Book that it did not intend to depart from the Church of England in any essential point of doctrine, discipline or worship. The General Convention of 1814 declared that "the Church conceives herself as professing and acting on the principles of the Church of England but it would be contrary to fact were any one to infer that the discipline exercised in this Church or that any of its proceedings therein are dependent on the will of the civil or ecclesiastical authority of any foreign country." It feels, therefore, that it enters into and shares fully the life of the parent Church, that the history of the one is the history of the other, whereby the younger institution feels that it is as old as the English race itself, that all the records of the earlier days are but its own chronicles, showing how its own life unfolded and what has been the genesis of its own thought. If it could read the future destiny of the English Church, it would feel that it was certainly beholding its own.

It is therefore proper to regard the two as parts of one great racial Church, existing independently in different lands under widely divergent social and political conditions but animated by one spirit and taking the same attitude towards truth.

It claims to express and represent the spiritual consciousness of the English race and to be adequate for the religious needs of that race. This is a great and even unique claim and it must be a matter of great interest to discover what is the attitude taken by such a Church towards truth. It does not claim to speak the final word for all races but to embody the religious consciousness of the English race, to define its position towards the complex problems of theology and the practical duties of a religious life. So far as in England the tendency to develop along emotional, sentimental and mystical lines is somewhat checked by the secular common sense of the State, this in itself is an expression of the English religious consciousness which sees such to be on the whole a wise course. The same is true so far as the State has sought to check any tendency towards an excess of a purely sacerdotal, ecclesiastical or dogmatic spirit, for it is all the expression of English spirit and English thought, whether it be uttered strictly in the domain of the Church or in the domain of the State. It is what Englishmen have, on the whole, deemed to be best and wisest whether it be in propounding

a theory or in carrying the theory out in daily life or in disregarding it wholly or partially. The theory is what they consider to be the best theory, while the practice is what, at the time and under all the circumstances, they consider the best practice. To study these Churches is to see the English mind at work in the field of religion and it is a curious and interesting study. Whatever else it is and whether it be wise or foolish, it is English to the core. We see whatever is great and commanding in English character and also whatever is petty and mean. Formalism, clannishness and bigotry are blended with a marked spirit of comprehension, tolerance and inclusion, and this latter seems, on the whole, even buried as it has been at times, to be the real characteristic note. After the analogy of English political life, parties arose in the Church and by their clashing the problem is worked out in religion as in politics. As in the political field partisans differ exceedingly and use hard words towards each other and about each other's views and yet at the bottom they are all loyal Englishmen, so in the Church the partisans do the same thing; yet while differing from each other, they are all loyal Churchmen. Thus many years ago the then Dean of Ripon, an earnest Low Churchman, declared publicly that Dr. Temple as a Broad Churchman was a total leper and not dangerous because he was so evidently a leper that all men would instinctively avoid him. He

declared that Dr. Pusey as a High Churchman was a partial leper, less deeply tainted but on that account more dangerous because less likely to terrify people from coming near him and becoming infected. We all know that Dr. Temple, the total leper, became bishop and then archbishop, while Dr. Pusey has been and is regarded as a saint by an entire section of the Church. This shows the futility of such abuse.

To those who do not fully understand the English spirit and the characteristic working of the English mind all this seems very strange and even incomprehensible. That individual members should differ so widely as to appear almost to contradict each other and yet all be within the limits of a single organization seems strange to those who regard the Church as an exclusive club on a large scale, properly made up only of those who think, see and feel in the same way. It seems paradoxical, but that is because it is English and it seems so only to those who do not look below the surface, who do not see the real complexity of affairs, the practical difficulties in the way of working out fine theories in daily life. The English mind declares for freedom and then seems to practice a good deal of repression. This is not because it does not sincerely believe that freedom is the right ideal, for no race ever held that tenet more profoundly, but it is because it also believes in self-preservation at that particular time. It will violate the theory

to-day if thereby alone it can keep alive and be able to apply the theory to-morrow when circumstances may be more propitious. However it seems to disregard the fine theory, it is always keeping it in mind and its presence will be unexpectedly disclosed as in some degree still vital and active.

The settlement of complex and difficult problems by the clashing of parties is a characteristic English method, so that we should expect to find parties in the Church if it be really dominated by an English spirit. We do in fact find three such parties, popularly called High, Low and Broad. It is thoroughly English that these have no legal or formal status and are not indeed recognized as even existing. They are merely the evanescent expression of the mind of the Church as it works under the measure of freedom that at the time has been realized. The three parties, if analyzed, express and represent the three points of view — past, present and future. The High yearns passionately after the ideals that are past. The Low feels a quiet and rather indolent satisfaction with things as they are. The Broad aspires with enthusiasm towards something better and nobler in the future. The great body of the Church is unquestionably Low, and to this rather inert mass comes the conservative, reactionary appeal of the High and also the radical and progressive appeal of the Broad. The life of the Church is the interplay of these three elements

and, whatever in the future may be the natural and normal result, it is to be accepted as right, for it will be the free operation of Spirit upon the collective mind of the men who make up the Church. For the English race the religious problem is in this way being gradually solved in this racial Church. It is the real battle ground and the genius of England is destined in the end to solve the problem in a great and a noble way. For the present and for a long while to come we must expect inconsistencies, reactionary panics and at times a bold and decisive step forward, knowing that ground once gained will be retained, while the reaction will be but temporary.

In this spirit we propose to consider what is really the attitude of the Church towards truth, for to a forgetfulness of this and a failure adequately to realize this is due much of the slowness of progress. A clear perception of this will enable us to see the cause and the justification of the three parties and to understand the complex nature of Church life. We must remember that such a consideration as this involves solely the Church on its intellectual side. It is therefore wholly apart from those aspects which to the majority of men give the Church its practical value. Despite the most serious errors, inconsistencies and vagaries of which such a body might be guilty, when looked at intellectually, it may nevertheless be admirable and useful in the highest degree on its purely social side because

of its manifold ministrations to the necessities of men. In relieving actual distress, in speaking the word of encouragement and sympathy, in stimulating a regard for cleanliness and decency, in inducing respect for law and awakening a sense of moral duty as a citizen, in all this the Church as an active agent of practical social ethics must be regarded as valuable and admirable without any sort of regard to its intellectual life or its speculative philosophy. No man wishes to criticize or censure the Church as such an agent for good, but it professes to be much more than this and indeed professes to regard all such work as subsidiary to its greater functions as custodian of truth concerning the mystery locked up in the words "God" and "Man." This, which is really its very essence as an organization, is so closely linked with intellect as to be inseparable therefrom. It is only as man is intelligent that he ever considers such matters at all and the measure of his sincere interest is the true measure of personality. In considering, therefore, the attitude of the Church towards truth, we are going to study the most fundamental and central point in its life.

In using the term "Church" we now refer to an organization which has a corporate existence whereby it discloses a definite and ascertainable character of its own in its formularies. When it has once come into existence it stands as an entity and its character

is not to be learned from the whims and vagaries of the members but only from the written formularies as they have been lawfully adopted. If literally all the members were to disobey the formularies because they did not believe them, this would not change the corporate character in the least until in a lawful and constitutional manner a majority of those members had repealed the disregarded formularies. Such a case of universal disobedience would merely show a gross divergence between the theory and practice of the corporate life, a curious, incongruous, anomalous state of affairs, but through it all the Church would stand for just what its formularies outlined and to them any member could lawfully and properly appeal. The fact that he could not practically secure any benefit from such appeal would not lessen his right to it, but merely be an added evidence of the anomalous conditions existing. Thus the spirit and theory of the Church must always be contra-distinguished from that of parties and factions within the Church. If individuals or parties or factions are disposed to fix limits that exclude men who differ from them, it is always pertinent to inquire whether such action is justified by the theory and spirit of the Church itself. If its members are narrow, exclusive and bigoted, it does not necessarily follow that the Church is like them. We must always, therefore, discriminate between the Church in its corporate capacity and its members, who may or may not be faithful to its spirit and theory.

Now before adopting creeds and legislating upon doctrinal details, a Church takes necessarily some definite attitude towards truth itself, towards all truth, towards the very idea of what truth is, how it is obtained, what is its nature and how it is to be tested. This attitude is its most fundamental characteristic. What is called a reformation implies and springs from a change in this attitude. All that then outwardly occurs is the result of a changed conception of the truth.

At the outset it is necessary to define exactly what we mean by this word "truth," for great confusion and trouble must result if it is used in different meanings at different times or if it is used as merely a phrase or catchword without any exact and definite meaning whatsoever. Now in the higher realm of thought, which is the atmosphere in which all Churches properly live, the word "truth" seems to mean the correct and final interpretation of facts. To see the force of this word we must define two other words and these are "knowledge" and "wisdom." Knowledge results from the conscious perception of facts, and capacity to acquire and possess knowledge is the peculiar and characteristic attribute of man. Knowledge of bare and isolated facts is, however, of little value. The great thing is to see the significance of the fact, to discern the law which it exemplifies and to secure this is to interpret the fact. This interpretation whereby we perceive the real and valuable nature of the fact

and come to know just what it means results in what we call wisdom.

Truth is wisdom carried to its highest point. Any interpretation implies some degree of wisdom, for even the mere attempt to interpret must be a degree above the simple apprehension of the bare fact. When wisdom becomes a correct, final, successful interpretation of the fact, we call it truth. There are no degrees of truth, for there is nothing beyond the correct and final interpretation. It is the only final thing and man has always been seeking it as the answer to his ceaseless queries, the real explanation of his ascertained facts. The attitude of a Church towards truth is the attitude towards this final and correct explanation of the universe and of man as a part of it. There are two attitudes, of which one may be called the rational and the other the ecclesiastical.

By rational truth we mean that interpretation which is secured by the reason of the human race and it necessarily rests on all the observation, experience and reflection of the race, including, of course, man's inner consciousness and the testimony of his psychical nature. As the race observes more carefully, studies more profoundly, has wider and broader experiences, it is inevitable that the result of all this should vary from that which was the result of the smaller degree which, at a prior time, represented the maximum of

man's endeavor, and so rational truth by its very nature must be progressive. It is an ideal towards which men work, which they always hope to reach but which they can never be sure they have reached. The quest will always be open for ages to come and will furnish employment for human faculties so long as human life continues. Man will never cease to seek wisdom and truth, for, as he gains power to see, the field of vision extends and yields him the same stimulus, thirst and inspiration as of old.

By ecclesiastical truth we mean certain statements which have been decreed as true by what at the time was deemed competent authority. This is commonly called dogmatic truth and it is held to be unalterable by reason of any subsequent observation, experience or reflection. It is a final decree which no man or body of men, acting under any conceivable warrant, have any rightful power to alter or repeal. It rests upon the idea that man can know nothing of truth, that is to say, cannot interpret himself or the world, without what is called supernatural revelation and that this has now been made once for all, that it can never be added to or diminished. It is therefore a claim that in the remote past the absolutely correct interpretation of the universe was made by an external power, and so truth need no longer be sought, since man already possesses it in perfection. He already knows the whole truth. Reason has no functions

in such a direction, for truth came independently of reason.

It is easy to see the antagonism between this idea and that which holds that man secures his interpretation of the universe by the use of his reason. So fundamental, too, is this antagonism, that before doing anything else a Church is obliged to adopt one of these conflicting ideas. It must stand for rational truth or for ecclesiastical truth. It must acknowledge or deny the usefulness of reason and the validity of its deductions. If it decides in favor of reason, it means that all is open for investigation, that changes may properly come if reason so decides and that it may all end in a new and better interpretation than the one now commonly accepted. Such a decision takes away the badge of finality from all Church utterances and accepts the consequences of the free exercise of reason. This involves a decision as to the fallibility or infallibility of the Church in its corporate capacity, for the matter has already been settled unconsciously in reaching a decision on the first point, since, if that decision is in favor of reason, it necessitates the conception of the Church as fallible, while, if that decision is against reason, it compels the adoption of a theory of infallibility upon which all dogma rests for its justification.

Upon this matter a Church may hold one of three different attitudes, but it cannot, at the same time,

hold more than one in its corporate capacity. Having given its formal, theoretical adherence to one, it must be held to stand for this whether its members regard it or not. What it has thus formally adopted is its ideal and, if it is not lived up to, it does not cease to be the ideal.

A Church may declare that it is infallible, so that when it has formally said that anything is true it must be so regarded despite all rational considerations to the contrary. Or it may not formally declare whether it is or is not infallible, but it may leave its formularies in such shape as to permit its members to claim whatever they see fit in this respect. Or a Church may clearly declare that it is fallible and thus take its stand for rational truth as against ecclesiastical truth or dogma. It then says that while it believes it is right it concedes that possibly it may be wrong but, if so, its error is involuntary and unconscious. It is not unduly fettered to the past, but admits at least the possibility of a progressive development. It will never fear the sincere critic, for, if it be in error, it desires to know it. It will not, therefore, punish or expel a member for trying to point out such error. Such a Church does not dogmatize, but designates the field of activity and urges its members to work earnestly therein.

Now which of these three attitudes did the Church of England adopt? What do its formularies, phrased

three hundred and fifty years ago, say? The question is not what has been its practical attitude, what ideas its members have succeeded in making prevail in the daily life of the Church. It may have failed to realize the ideal and that is not at all strange. The question is merely what that ideal was, what the Church did formulate as its basis, whether it has consistently lived up to it or not.

While we are all aware that those who now seek control of the Church do not look with favor on the words "Reformation" and "Protestant," we know that in the sixteenth century something happened and that it has been universally called the Reformation of the Church, and its character has been designated as Protestant, whatever that term may mean. At that time the Church formally decided what attitude to take towards truth and it has never changed its formularies from that day to this, whatever its members have done about obedience to them. The widespread disregard of the ideal has made the multitude forget that there ever was any, while circumstances have developed a practical attitude which is wholly opposed to the spirit of the formularies. Of the three parties the High stands for ecclesiastical truth and treats the Church as if it were infallible. The Low has no definite idea about it but wavers between the two ideas, in some ways treating the Church as infallible and then again accepting it as fallible. It seems to

be for them an open question. The Broad definitely declares the Church to be fallible and accepts rational truth as alone entitled to supreme regard. Now which party is, in this respect, most loyal to the definite formularies of the Church and clings most closely to her ideal? To discover this ought not to be a difficult task, nor ought it to be involved in the least doubt or uncertainty.

In every English and American Book of Common Prayer for three and a half centuries there have been printed so-called Articles of Religion, a Service for the Ordination of Priests and a Service for the Consecration of Bishops, so that every clergyman, of whatever rank, has had as a part of his duty to read these Articles and has been asked and has answered certain questions. These disclose clearly the attitude of the Church and they cannot be questioned as an authoritative statement of what was intended. The Articles were formally declared "to contain the true doctrine of the Church." They were used for two entirely different purposes. They condemned and disavowed certain ideas which had for ages been deemed an essential part of religious faith, and herein they were destructive, negative and subversive in character. They also set up a new standard, defined the attitude of the Church towards truth, and herein they were constructive and positive. It is necessary to consider both phases. The freedom

of action, displayed in the destruction of what had so long been regarded as resting on sacred and infallible authority, is very remarkable and has a profound significance as showing the greatest contempt for such authority. To understand the mind that then dominated the Church we must therefore consider as well what it tried to destroy as we need to discover what it sought to construct, for it is only thus that we can reach and comprehend the real underlying ideas and theories that were in such mind.

So far as it was possible to do so the Articles swept away a whole body of ecclesiastical truth, which action implied, and could only rest upon and be justified by, the conception of the Church as extremely fallible. Article XIX., therefore, declared that none of the great Churches of the past had been infallible but that each and every one of them had actually erred in matters of faith, while Article XXI. declared that the great ecumenical councils "had erred even in things pertaining unto God, wherefore things by them ordained as necessary are only to be accepted when provable by Scripture." This denied the whole doctrine of infallibility as it had been held for ages and sought to overthrow the whole idea of dogmatic authority.

It had been universally held that the term "Church" embraced only the bishops and clergy, but Article XIX. declared the Church to be "the congregation of faithful men," while Article XXIII. said that the clergy con-

sisted of those who derived rights under "public authority given unto them in the congregation." This was a new and democratic Church as against the old conception of it as imperial and hierarchical. Nothing was anywhere said about apostolic succession and the language used seemed even to negative such idea. The unique dogma of transubstantiation, the very root of the medieval tree, had been universally held, and as late as 1546 any person in England was liable to be burnt alive at the stake as a heretic for failure to believe it, but Article XXVIII. condemns that dogma with great severity as "repugnant to Scripture" and as "having given occasion to many superstitions." So, too, the ideas of purgatory, pardons, worshiping and adoration of images and relics and invocation of saints had been universally upheld and rigidly insisted on, but Article XXII. declares them all erroneous and vain inventions repugnant to Scripture.

The Church had formerly seven so-called sacraments, but Article XXV. denounced five of them as corrupt practices and said they were no longer to be counted for sacraments. It had been universally held that a man was to be saved only by membership in the Church and that eternal damnation was the lot of all who were outside its pale, but Article XVIII. holds those "accursed" who presume to say any such thing. No man, it declares, is saved by the law or sect which

he professes, because it is not the Church that saves. Formerly there had been a universal belief in the efficacy of masses, but Article XXXI. declares them to be "blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits." The Church had formerly insisted upon a celibate clergy as demanded by the law of God, but Article XXXII. denied that there was any such law and directed the clergy to marry or not at their own discretion. It had long been regarded as dangerous and wicked heresy to assert the right of the laity to both elements in the Eucharist, but Article XXX. declared in favor of what was then the heretical idea. To the modern man this now seems devoid of all interest and significance, for this Utraquist Controversy, as it was called, seems to him to have been a contention about minor and non-essential details; but in reality it was for many generations regarded as a fundamental point, for the concealed issue was whether or not there was an essential difference between the clergy and laity and this involved the entire issue of the Reformation. Therefore a decision on this point was regarded as vital, since it indicated one's attitude towards the whole matter of ecclesiastical authority.

On the constructive side the Articles were extremely simple and explicit, so as to be open to no misunderstanding if a person would but read the language used. Two Articles, the Sixth and the Twentieth, covered the whole ground, for it was declared in these —

(1) that the Scriptures contain all that is necessary, so that nothing is to be thought requisite or to be regarded as an article of the faith except it may be *proved* thereby;

(2) that it is therefore not lawful for this Church to ordain anything that is contrary to Scripture nor to enforce anything that is not therein contained;

(3) *that this Church has no power or right so to expound one passage of Scripture that it be repugnant to another,* thus divesting itself of all capacity as dogmatic interpreter. It does, indeed, go on to say in express terms that it is merely a witness and custodian of Scripture.

In declaring the sufficiency of Scripture and discarding all dogmatic use of repugnant passages all need of an infallible Church was removed. It acknowledged the fact that there were passages that were inconsistent and repugnant to each other and expressly disclaimed any authority to decide so as to bind the individual conscience. This was really the crucial point. Nothing was to be required as an article of faith but what could be *proved* by Scripture. If the Church should so require, its act would be unlawful and would be a violation of the individual's rights. All was to be tested by Scripture alone and to this test every statement made at any time by the Church must be freely exposed. The Twentieth Article was designed to be the dominant and controlling statement. Every line in the Articles about doctrines might be brought

to the bar of judgment under the broad sweep of its provisions. The same is true of all creeds, liturgies and formulas of every description, for that Article is pivotal. The Sixth and Twentieth Articles set forth the broad platform on which the Church chose to stand. It only remained to instruct the clergy as to their attitude towards Scripture, and this was done with remarkable clearness and precision.

At the time of his ordination as priest, the Church, in its public service, urges him "to daily study *and weigh* the Scriptures that he may wax riper and stronger," thereby suggesting the idea of mental growth and development. He is then required directly to pledge himself to "be diligent in reading Scripture and *in such studies as help to a knowledge of the same.*" He is then asked: "*Are you determined out of the said Scriptures to teach the people committed to your charge, and to teach nothing as necessary but that which YOU shall be persuaded may be concluded and proved by the Scripture?*" This same question is also put to him who is to be consecrated as bishop, although it has already been answered by him when he was ordained as priest. It again tells him what the Church asks and expects of him and again pledges him to her ideal.

If anything ever were plain this language certainly must be so regarded. The man gives his pledge not that he will teach the creeds, the liturgy or any other

ecclesiastical formula, for nothing is said about them or any of them, but he does agree —

(1) to study and *weigh* the Scriptures so that he may *thereafter* get at the true meaning more perfectly. "To weigh" is defined as "to examine or test, to consider for the purpose of forming an opinion or coming to a conclusion, to balance, judge, estimate." This cannot possibly mean merely to absorb conclusions already dogmatically reached by authority, but it necessarily means study such as produces personal opinions and convictions. It connotes private judgment and aims at the discovery of new and better interpretations;

(2) to study all such other matters as shall help *him* to comprehend and interpret Scripture more thoroughly;

(3) to teach the people not from creeds, liturgy or pious formulas but directly from Scripture;

(4) to teach nothing but what *he shall be thereafter* persuaded may be *conclusively proved by Scripture.* He does not bind himself to teach all that is in Scripture, but only such matters as may be conclusively proved and of this he is always to be the judge. He actually pledges himself to use his personal judgment. It is henceforth his duty to teach what *he* sees and believes. He is a part of the mind of the Church and must bring his ideas into the common forum so that all may benefit by his conscientious studies. If a matter seem to him to be clearly and conclusively proved by Scripture

he is bound to accept it, but if, whatever others say, it seems to *him* not to be so proved he is equally bound to say so and declare his reasons. If there be any manifest doubt or uncertainty, if there be any clear repugnancy between different passages of the Scripture, the Church has said distinctly in Article XX. that it possesses no authority or power to say which of these divergent views a man must receive, but leaves him free to obey his own conscience and he has pledged his honor to do so. He has formally and publicly repudiated ecclesiastical authority in all such matters and he only obeys his vows when he gives the Church the benefit of his studies without reserve. If he conceals his real thoughts, keeps silent or withdraws he actually violates his pledge. If he abstains from study of the Scripture because of the difficulties he encounters, if he carefully avoids whatever study he fears will change his ideas, if he merely pores over the creeds, the liturgy and pious formulas, he has broken his vow and is a recreant servant of the Church. His solemn duty is to study fearlessly and to speak honestly what *he* is convinced is true. If the Church urges him to do this, binds him by a solemn pledge, tells him by its Articles what is its attitude towards truth and then expels and degrades him for being honest, the Church is disgraced as having repudiated its own essential character and violated its own formal and solemn declarations. In the service of ordination,

it has told a man certain things which he must not believe and act upon as true. He must, at his peril, understand the conventional lie and be ready to violate his vow if he would stay in the Church. Can the mind conceive a more scandalous situation than that of a Church punishing her own clergy for fidelity to the ordination vow, expelling a man who has accepted her ideal and been intellectually honest? It is the plain fact that there has been a great failure to remember the true attitude of the Church and very much has been done and is done that rests upon an entire inversion of the formularies. Thus Article VI. is treated as if it said, "Scripture contains what this Church has decided is to be found therein, and this hath been expressed in the creeds and liturgy, which are infallibly correct." Article XX. is treated as if it said that "this Church when acting as an interpreter either of Scripture or of tradition is to be regarded as infallible."

The ordination pledges are treated as if the language used was as follows: "Are you persuaded that the Holy Scriptures, as interpreted by this Church, are infallible and that they do verily contain all that the Church professeth to find therein as shown by its creeds and liturgy? And are you determined out of the creeds and liturgy to instruct the people committed to your charge and to teach nothing as necessary except what you may find in said creeds

and liturgy? Will you utterly lay aside all other studies and be diligent in reading the Prayer Book? And are you determined to read nothing and see and hear nothing that shall change the ideas that you now have? Do you realize that by this ordination you are committed in the matter of doctrinal teaching for the entire period of your life and that these conditions are inflexible, indelible and unchangeable? Are you determined to exercise no liberty of interpretation and especially are you determined to abhor and avoid all spiritual interpretation as a fond thing vainly invented? Are you persuaded that all the Articles of the Apostles' Creed and the Nicene Creed are closed questions, that they are like the axioms of mathematics, forever removed from the field of discussion and debate? Are you determined that if, by the power and wiles of Satan, you shall come to doubt or be inclined to deny anything contained in the creeds or either of them, in the liturgy or in the Book of Common Prayer or in any other formula of the Church *as now commonly and popularly understood*, you will consider it your bounden religious duty either to keep silent or to withdraw from this Church? To this silence or withdrawal under such circumstances do you now pledge your word and your honor?"

It is obvious that such changes as we have here indicated would be to invert and destroy the present formularies. Nevertheless they are daily treated as

if they meant exactly what we have written. Black and white are not more different from each other than the real formularies differ from what seems to be the conventional understanding of them.

The issue is the same to-day as it was at the time of the Reformation. The written formularies stand for the new spirit that then sought to enter the Church and in some measure did enter it, while the common usage stands for the old status which it was then sought to destroy. The English Reformation was a supreme effort to break with ecclesiastical truth and make a new and fresh assertion of rational truth. What was then planned was a most radical and far-reaching revolution and this, in truth, was but partially accomplished. A revolution was attempted and a very substantial reformation was actually effected. Looking back upon those days we readily see that to apply the ideal was then utterly impracticable and so its immediate realization was impossible. It was no more than the theory or dream of a few men, but it was formally made the theory or ideal of a great national or racial Church and so it has in form remained, while society has steadily moved towards conditions which may, in time, even compel recognition by reluctant ecclesiastics. All this discloses the peculiar characteristic of the English people, who will cherish an ideal which they daily violate and yet towards which they

seem to move steadily but very slowly. This, which involves a glaring inconsistency between language and conduct, merely discloses a people with an intellectual conception which outruns all immediate possibilities and, in a sort of blind, unconscious way, they seem to stumble along towards the solution of the problem, until the neglected ideal becomes in some substantial degree a reality. The keen perception of what is at the time a practical necessity seems never to be obscured by any vision of the ideal, and yet, while disregarding it and apparently crushing it, the ideal seems to persist and constantly appears as modifying and in a degree controlling the national conduct. It is idealism tempered by a very sane and practical common sense. They see clearly what is theoretically right and at the same time see that it cannot then be realized. The extreme caution displayed guarantees that, when an advance is made, it will be permanent. The ideal has had a hard struggle but a fortress once taken by it is never afterwards lost. This inconsistency and extreme conservatism is at times vastly irritating to the enthusiastic individual but, in the long run, he discovers that, way down at the roots of the nation, there is a profound idealism which slowly advances and which seems to be essentially invincible.

To criticize and expose this inconsistency, to set up again and again the ideal knowing that it seems almost hopeless, to point out the scandalous divergence

between theory and conduct, — this is a constant feature of all English living and is a necessary part of the movement towards better conditions. No immediate effect is produced but another blow has been struck and in time it will tell, as has been the case so often in the past.

Protestantism in England was not an ecclesiastical or religious movement but was mainly social and political. The Church had become a source of danger and threatened the nation with ruin. The indictment sustainable against the Church was very serious, for it included the open and notorious debasement of clerical morals, the venality and corruption of ecclesiastical courts, the utter immunity of all clerical criminals, the wealth of the higher clergy and religious bodies and their constant exactions from the laity, which were no more nor less than organized and systematic plunder under the guise and in the name of religion. Papal pretensions and exorbitant clerical privileges threatened the autonomy of the State itself. The Church was not only claiming monopoly privileges but in a large degree had secured them. Nearly a third of the best soil in the realm was in the hands of the religious bodies, which were the great landlords. The Church had more power effectively to tax the people than was possessed by the State itself. Politics had been a problem in which the controlling factor was whether the Church should have a coalition with

the Crown against the Nobles or a coalition with the Nobles against the Crown. The Church was thus a constant factor dreaded in turn by both the Crown and the Nobles, and in turn esteemed by each according as political exigencies and intrigue threw the Church into alliance for the time being with one or the other. Religion itself, in any true sense, was dead so far as the masses of the people were concerned. In its place was a great mass of unreason and superstition clothed with most arbitrary power and resting for its support upon the most abject fear of hell felt by the great mass of the people. The union of Church and State was devised not so much to protect the Church as it was to clip its wings, control and check its power for harm. The real aim of the great leaders was to get rid of a particular form of religion, to provide for the gradual extinction of the Latin theology. The Church became thenceforth a great and most serious political and social problem the gradual and safe solution of which was sought by the substitution of sanity for the unreason. The only possible way to do this was to accept, as a basis to start with, the old system, modified so far as popular prejudices would permit, and to throw open the door for individual study and discussion whereby, in time, what was false would be seen and discarded while what was true would be saved and expanded. It is impossible for us to realize fully how profoundly significant all this was to the conven-

tionalists of that day, for to them it seemed like the overthrow and destruction of religion itself. Every change, however wise and beneficial it may be, has always been and always will be so regarded by such minds. It is certainly true that never at any one time was more radical and revolutionary action taken than at this Reformation, but while certain ideas were formally destroyed on paper, they, and many others of a like nature, still remained in the minds of the multitude, and in preparing the liturgy it was necessary to take this into account and to keep the new service as near as possible to the old in form and all outward appearance. It was necessary to create a *modus vivendi* under which society might continue with as little shock as possible and yet to open the door for final escape from what was clearly seen to be a great mass of unreason. No wiser method than that adopted was probably within the reach of men. The intelligent application of Article XX. and a sincere regard to the ordination vow would in time eliminate all that is unreasonable in our conventional and popular theology. So far as the Latin theology is still dominant in the Church it means a failure, for the aim of the great promoters of the English Reformation was its final overthrow. To them it seemed as if the freedom theoretically granted was ample to secure in time a full discovery of the divergence of all this from Scripture, but they did not estimate aright the degree of igno-

rance, the indifference of men to all matters of abstract truth and the consequent vitality of all superstition and fanaticism. The ability of ordinary men to read Scripture and reach any critical results proved to be much less than had been supposed. Men were as a whole profoundly indifferent on all speculative matters, and natural inertia served as usual to maintain the existing status. The selfishness of the wealthy nobility in securing control of the Church patronage, the dread on the part of the comfortable classes of all further innovation as likely to disturb social conditions and impair aristocratic control — all this was either unforeseen or underestimated. In time an English ecclesiasticism was established that, after a series of generations, became as conventional and arbitrary as the one it had superseded, resembling that closely in all essential respects though always there appeared the note of protest and revolt. It became in the main a hard and dull formalism, the only check on which was the sanity of heretics, who were unconsciously living up to the basic law of the Church, by which that law was forgotten and repudiated. It was the familiar story of a constitution on paper which lacked real vitality because no intelligent comprehension of its ideas was possessed by the multitude. Some man or group of men had cherished an ideal and succeeded in formally imposing this upon the Church, but it was no more than formal, for it did not rest on any wide-

spread popular conviction and when this group of men passed away the ideal seemed to have vanished, as did even all perception that this ideal had been enshrined in the formularies. So far as Church conduct was concerned the ideal might as well never have been set up, and so in the main it has seemed these many generations. At once, under Elizabeth, the old spirit flamed forth. In their eagerness to meet the charge that they themselves were heretics, they denounced every sort of so-called heresy, saying that they "cursed them even to the gates of hell" and "if anywhere they shall show their heads we will check them by the very severest punishments." The canons of 1603 condemned to excommunication all those who should affirm that any one of the Thirty-nine Articles was in any part erroneous. The civil penalty for this was imprisonment without any limitation of time. The Pope himself could not have done more.

But while in the main the ideal has been ignored and the ordination vow has been treated as meaningless it is clear that some progress has been made. While there has been an excessive display of the dogmatic spirit it has never entirely dominated the Church. The power of the State has checked the natural tendency of the ecclesiastics, for so far as the Church in England has been true to its formularies it has been by a compulsive force exerted by the State. Experience has always shown that a strictly ecclesiastical

court will seldom interpret honestly and fairly the Church law in heresy cases. The most serious charge against true ecclesiasticism is that it is absolutely destitute of the sense of justice, equity and intellectual honesty. It is therefore merely a measure of State control that has saved the English Church from a total disregard of the spirit of its formularies.

It is due to this that, however imperfectly the Protestant principle of the Church has been applied, it is certain that, in some very appreciable degree, it has been recognized, and this is shown by the presence of three great parties in the Church which are well defined and have shown a consistent and persistent historic continuity. These three parties — High, Low, and Broad — are radically diverse to the point of being contradictory and furnish conclusive evidence of the non-dogmatic character of that institution which shelters them all. The identical principle which permits the ideas of the ultra-High also permits those of the ultra-Broad. If either of these were to seek to rest its rights on technical legal grounds, it would necessarily resort to the same general interpretation and understanding of the nature of the Church and its attitude towards truth. The typical Low regards men at either extreme as being genuine lepers, but the Church itself passes no such judgment. The entire difficulty seems to be that neither High nor Low are willing frankly to concede

is necessarily true and it is not possible to change it. We may produce outward conformity but the differences are all there just the same. It is possible to make it appear as if men agreed but it is very difficult, if not impossible, to make them really agree. The day a man begins seriously to think, he begins to discover a new and hidden meaning in words, and all his study is merely directed towards the more perfect explication of a few fundamental words and phrases. These all thinkers use and must use in common and the difference between men, intellectually, lies in the different meanings they attach to them. It is not right to coin new words, even if that were possible, for all the various meanings are but attempts to interpret the same underlying reality. Discussion about words is merely an effort to ascertain the true idea and correct interpretation. It is not, therefore, idle and useless but it is necessary and inevitable as an indication of mental vitality. When men can agree upon the meaning of such words as religion, Church, God, Christ, Spirit, reason, character, conscience, will, inspiration, knowledge, wisdom and truth they will be in entire harmony. They all use these words but very few men agree as to the meaning of them. Most men could not define them at all, so vague and hazy are their thoughts. Free and candid discussion tends towards a genuine agreement and so tends towards a true and lasting harmony, and there is no other way to produce this. Arbitrary authority can merely produce silence and outward conformity.

The English Church, in its formularies, frankly recognizes this and, if its theory and spirit were duly regarded, there would be no exclusion, punishment or abuse for any sincere expression of opinion. Each would derive its weight and significance from its own contents, and the personality of the speaker and the individual force would have free play. The crank, fanatic or mere agitator would soon sink to his true level.

All this has been in a measure regarded for more than three centuries. So far as it has been disregarded the Church has suffered, for numberless schisms have resulted which have been justified, and even made necessary, by the disloyalty of the Church to its own ideal and standard. Judged by its actual history, there has been a vast deal of tyranny and oppression — a vast amount of intolerance, snobbishness and bigotry. Judged, however, by an intelligent and strict construction of its formularies, it is in theory the freest, most tolerant and most truly catholic of all Churches past or present. It says that it is not so much what we believe as how we believe. It is not what we secure as a result so much as the spirit with which we try to get a good result. A man's convictions may be worthless to others, but, if they are the best that his painful, conscientious, sincere effort has enabled him to get, they are immeasurably valuable to him and this effort he has made redeems him and creates character. It has developed him as no resting on mere authority ever could have

done and this personal development of character by loyalty to his ideals is what saves him and makes him a type of the human and the Christian.

The gist of the whole matter is that a man be faithful to the best and highest ideal that *he* has. This is so clearly all that is possible that it is a wonder that any man, who thinks about it at all, should fail to realize it. Thus, if a man's conception of life is that it is his highest duty to obey the Church and that the priest is to him in the place of God, then clearly his whole duty lies in obedience to the will of these other men and his right attitude is submissive deference to that authority which he regards as final. This yields the High Church type. What does this mean, in its purest form, except that a man who is conscious that he has no intellectual power to decide for himself accepts the leadership of what appears to be a cultivated, honest, educated man whose character is vouched for by a great institution? The Church with its splendid edifices, its impressive ritual, its glorious music, its antiquity, its claim made by priests that it can guide, protect and save appeals irresistibly to the imagination of the man and to all this he surrenders. He rolls off all sense of responsibility, feels relieved of a great burden and it does transform his life and it does in a sense save him through simple obedience without need of any intellectual striving, without any need of study, research or anxiety. Is it

not, so far as he is concerned, a great thing and a true thing? The abstract truth of certain propositions has nothing to do with its being helpful to him. He enters not at all into all this, cares nothing about the rational side of life, and possibly could not if he tried. He does find a great peace and comfort in the consciousness that a great historic institution has taken up his personal burden and will bear it for him as it did for his father and his grandfather. To him the Church is the great burden bearer of the race. Is it not a splendid conception and is it not true for these men? Is it not a valuable possession of the race and does it not deserve to be perpetuated within limits? What would or could replace it for that great multitude of men and women to whom it thus ministers? So long as they remain in their present status, it is for them a necessity and they ought to cling to it. So long as there are such people it is proper that there should be a wing of the Church devoted to them and meeting their necessities. Without its High wing the Church would to-day be a defective organization.

There is, however, a second class which regards the Bible as utterly infallible and believes that it contains exactly those ideas which were told the man in his childhood. His whole duty then lies in obedience to what he supposes the Book to prescribe. It does not affect his obligation in the least if the Book does not really contain what he believes it does. His ideal rests

on what he does believe and his duty rests on his ideal. The only thing that can change his duty is such thing as changes his ideal. He does not believe in the Church as imperial and sovereign master of the truth, for he regards the Book as the final record and, as he assumes that he has already secured fully and accurately its message, there is really nothing left for him to do but obey. This gives us the Low Church type. What is this but a class of men who have developed to a point where they no longer feel the necessity of relying on priestly guidance in such a childlike spirit? They feel capable of some personal judgment and so they take the Book, which the Church puts in their hands, and, in theory, proceed to base their lives on what they find in its pages. It is a long step away from blind obedience and in theory is a recognition of the full idea of personal and private judgment. But the task of reading and interpreting this Book is more complex than they supposed and they soon feel that it is a burden which is more than they care to assume and so it comes about that, instead of freely and independently studying the Book, they accept the assurances of priests that it contains just what they from childhood have heard preached and with this statement they become content and roll off the responsibility. They assume henceforth that this is so and, if it is questioned, they feel angry and are made uncomfortable. It hurts their pride, for, if the new thought be really true, they have failed in intel-

ligence in not discovering it for themselves long ago. The High Churchman predicates infallibility in the Church, while the Low type assumes this same infallibility as resting in a Book so plainly that all a man need do is to read it for himself, but what he really assumes is the infallibility of a particular interpretation of that Book, which, as he supposes, is given to him by the Church and so, at the bottom of it all, he rests on the infallibility of the Church in much the same way that the High Church type does. Each discloses the desire to escape responsibility, to give up the personal burden of forming a judgment and trusting to personal endeavor. It is felt to be too much of a task, for it takes too much time from the business duties and social pleasures of life. The ideals which exist in these two types — High and Low — certainly impose no duty of seeking after truth, for the basic idea held by each is that all that is necessary is already found and perfectly possessed. If these types of mind could exist in perfect form and degree, it is clear that these men could never permit any change, development or progress, for such would imply an error in the fundamental basis of their respective ideals. This is why they show such resentment when anybody proposes to investigate anything in the light of reason. They are afraid.

Then again there is a third class or type when the man regards the Church as an institution which is to educate him, is to stimulate and inspire him to put

forth those powers of which he is the conscious possessor. He sees that this Church is and always was made up of men just like himself and he cannot see why if he is fallible, as he most certainly is, the others should have been or should now be infallible. The entire lesson of history strengthens him in this idea. He does not conceive the Church as his despotic master, but as his teacher and helper, made up of men like himself who need his assistance exactly as he needs theirs. It is not a fictitious entity which is to destroy individuality but it is a group of truth seekers who earnestly want to find out the universal law that they may more perfectly obey it. Association with others, inside the Church, is to help him develop and work out his own individual force better than he could do it if he were isolated and alone. The Church is to inspire him to be more of an individual and it is by the honest and persistent cultivation of whatever is personal and peculiar in his mind that he can hope to bring his mite to the common treasury and pay in some degree for what he has received from the common and inherited funds of the Church. If he believes in the value and wisdom of a Book he believes also that all this must depend on his mastery of that Book, and so he strives more perfectly to get at its secret, studies to secure more perfectly the exact significance of its words and phrases, investigates its history, seeks to correct obvious errors in the text, is not afraid to throw out interpolated passages, shrinks from nothing

but falsehood. He believes that man's mind is his one great possession and that its noblest use is to help him to discover truth. He believes that it is by his mind that he alone comes into touch with the divine force and this mind he feels must not be fettered by any theory men have made about any institution or any book. The Book may be, and he thinks it is, just as great and commanding as it is possible for a book to be, but free play of the mind is needed to interpret it and understand it. He can never see it as right to coerce his mind by a theory about the Book which he does not find in the Book. This gives us the Broad Church type.

Now what is this but the realization more perfectly of the theory or ideal wrapped up in but not adequately realized by what we call the Low type? The Broad is merely the very doing of what the Low professes to do but does not do, because in the main the Low is unwilling to make the effort and devote the time which is necessary. The Broad voluntarily assumes the burden which the others try to get rid of. When there is peace to be had by silence, he takes the ostracism which comes from speech. When idle conformity to prejudices and conventional ideas will give high preferment he runs the risk of expulsion and degradation because he elects to be true to his ideal.

It is clear that this is the final type. If the Church could realize its ideal, it would lead every person through these phases as in an evolution, so that each man would

begin his life in the Church as the type of the High, trusting in a vague, childlike way to the great organization into which he was born, not then even knowing of the Book, but impressed by the solemn ritual as it came before his eyes and fell on his childish ears as great, commanding, awe-inspiring and worthy of his obedience and confidence. Then in his youth and early manhood, the Church would carry him on to a knowledge of the Book, and at first he would grope about very imperfectly and accept all statements made about it by what seemed to him competent instructors. He would be passing through the Low stage. At last standing as a mature, educated man, knowing the history and literature of the past, coming to wider knowledge of science and profounder perception of the eternal law, he would represent the highest class of the Church and would have received and entered into its greatest benefits. All this would mean persistent personal effort, daily sacrifice of pleasure, that he might devote himself to his task and it would be thus alone that he could ever reach the higher plane of Church life.

Can any man after a due regard to the formularies, the history, the literature and traditions of this Church, honestly say that the Broad type is not that which was contemplated as their ideal by the men who wrote the formularies? Are they susceptible of any other interpretation? Would not a Church be a poor, maimed, imperfect thing if it only provided for the High type,

driving out any man who was ready to pass to the next stage? Would it not be equally maimed and imperfect if it only provided for High and Low, driving out any man who had reached a point where he could adequately realize the very ideal wrapped up in the Low type? Can we see it otherwise and is it not the one glory of this Church that it has, so far as it has been possible by the use of frail, imperfect men, tried to keep this ideal alive and ever more and more to aim at its realization?

II.

THE PASTORAL LETTERS OF 1894 AND 1904.

THERE are at times utterances which are made with such an appearance of authority by men occupying exalted place in the Church that it seems to be almost a case of speech by the very Church itself. Nothing is more difficult to overcome than the impression thereby produced, for it is hard for the multitude to believe that such men have usurped authority and transcended their proper functions. Never were there two more striking instances of this than the two documents we are now to consider. In 1894 six of the bishops united in a Pastoral Letter which was unprecedented in its tone and character. Whatever may have been the dissensions within the episcopate relative to this letter, it was finally all arranged so that the claim could be fairly and plausibly made that the whole weight and prestige of the House of Bishops was behind it. In the General Convention of 1895 it was moved in the House of Deputies "that this House thanks our Reverend Fathers in God for their Pastoral Letter." This was sought to be amended so that the House should not only express its gratitude but that the Pastoral should be "hereby adopted *ex animo* as a true and catholic definition upon the doc-

trines it considered." This amendment was afterwards withdrawn by consent and the original motion was laid on the table. Thus the Deputies did not thank the bishops nor approve their ideas. But the House of Bishops did in express terms declare that "we do now reaffirm a Pastoral Letter dealing chiefly with two of the great fundamental verities of the Christian faith, two truths which underlie Christianity and without which God has not been fully revealed to man." This having stood for a decade, they issued in 1904 another Pastoral in which they said: "If one finds, whatever his office or place in the Church, that he has lost his hold upon her fundamental verities, then, in the name of common honesty, let him be silent or withdraw." These letters are significant because it is always to be remembered that they appear, in form, to be an authoritative expression made by the entire episcopate.

It is clear that the significance of this later Pastoral depends on what is meant by "fundamental verities." In the letter of 1894 these are clearly defined, for in that letter we find this identical phrase in the first sentence. It is also in the bishops' language of 1895. They also say that they are "constrained to speak on two cardinal truths which every minister has pledged himself to hold, teach and defend." They propose "to state what the Church requires all to hold and teach concerning, first the Incarnation and second the Holy Scriptures." They then go on to say that "the doctrine of

the miraculous conception is held by this Church as *the* fundamental doctrine of Christianity." They declare it to be "*the* essence of Christianity" and say that "unless our Lord is firmly held to be the true son of the Blessed Virgin by miraculous conception and birth, we sinners have no adequate Mediator, our nature has no restored union with God, we have no sacrifice for our sins, for our moral weakness and incapacity there is no fountain of cleansing, renewal and recreation." They add that "the miraculous Virgin birth is alone befitting to God. This true doctrine is not only *the* cardinal and fundamental doctrine of the Christian faith but *it includes and involves* all of our Lord's redemptive work." They say that this is "an eternal fact and truth stamped with the assurance which divine infallibility gives."

The second cardinal truth or verity they declare to be the inspiration of the Scriptures. Here they insist upon "the inspiration of the *whole* canon." "The revelation thus made is final." "Any instruction or any study which makes *any part* of the Bible less authoritative is pernicious." This "cannot lawfully be questioned by any Christian man." They refer to "the realms of adjudicated truth" and to "holy and blessed servitude to truth." They say that "no specious plea of progress, liberty, independence or comprehension can weaken *in the least* the constraining obligation of a covenant of conformity." As a corollary to all this they declare that "the creeds are voices from above once for all deter-

mined by the operation of the Holy Ghost upon the mind of the Church" and that "no other than the original sense of the creeds may be lawfully held and taught." This is "the plain and definitely historical sense in which they have been interpreted by the consentient voice of the Church in all ages." "Fixedness of interpretation is of the essence of the creeds."

At the consecration of Christ Church in Rochester, N. Y., December 29, 1905, Bishop Walker declared "that by ordination men are committed, in the matter of teaching, as to doctrine for the entire period of their lives. The conditions are inflexible, indelible and unchangeable. To violate these conditions is perjury. The creeds are gathered articles of belief like a group of quartz crystals, clear and pure. No liberty of interpretation is accorded to the individual priest. To deny a miraculous Virgin birth is deliberate violation of an ordination vow comparable to the breach of a commercial contract. To claim a right to so-called spiritual interpretation is a sign of dishonesty. The creeds are as technical and exact as any of the sciences." Bishop Seymour said in January, 1906, that "the articles of the creed are closed questions. They are like the axioms of mathematics, forever removed from the field of discussion or debate."

Bishop Potter said, in November, 1906:

"It is impossible, in the minds of persons who hold fast to the principles of common honesty, to respect either the

consistency or the integrity of one who eats the Church's bread, accepts the Church's dignities, enjoys the Church's honors and impugns the Church's faith. If he must assail her beliefs, then the dictates of ordinary uprightness would plainly seem to be that he must, first of all, withdraw from a fellowship to whose fundamental beliefs he cannot readily assent."

All this indicates the exaltation of dogma, the attempted revival of medievalism and it is all in deadly hostility to the spirit of the Protestant Reformation. It is purely a reactionary movement seeking to deprotestantize the Church.

Let us consider the Pastoral of 1894, and in so doing we must discuss *first*, the statement about the Virgin birth; *second*, the statement about the inspiration of the Bible; *third*, the statement about the creeds.

Let us first consider the Virgin birth. Every bishop and every priest has declared that he will teach nothing but what *he* is persuaded may be *conclusively proved by Scripture*. To this the Church appeals alone and it prohibits all else. Each bishop and priest has agreed to study and weigh this Scripture and to act always in this spirit. What will he find if, being conscientious, he obeys his solemn pledge, and does actually study *and weigh* this Book to which he is sent? He must realize that language cannot have more authority in the creed than it has in Scripture. If it is binding,

it is not because it is in the creed, but because it is in the Scripture, for this is all that justifies its presence in the creed. He must realize that by Article XX. the Church has formally declared that it may not so expound one place of Scripture that it be repugnant to another. He will, if he be studious at all, find that such a repugnancy exists as to the Virgin birth and that there is no escape from it. He will find that if we adhere to Scripture as sole authority, no positive assertion can be made one way or the other, for Scripture contains contradictory statements.

In the New Testament, there are two distinct and entirely inconsistent views with regard to the conception of Jesus. One view is set forth in Matthew i: 18–25 and possibly in Luke i: 26–35. The passage in Matthew is at least a distinct assertion of a miraculous conception. The second view is set forth in Matthew i: 1–17 and Luke iii: 23–38. In the first view, Joseph had nothing to do with the birth of Jesus. In the second view, Jesus is the direct son of Joseph, and two elaborate *and different* genealogies are set forth, each based on this fact of actual paternity. If the first view be correct, then the second must be false and both genealogies are fanciful and unreal. If the Church were to say that Jesus had no human father, what would it do with the two genealogies which are made on the idea that Joseph was his human father? Both Matthew and Luke trace the genealogy

of Jesus through Joseph. There is no evidence given, or even a statement made, as to the lineage of Mary. If Joseph were not a real and true human parent of Jesus, it seems incredible that two genealogies should be given for him and that none should be even hinted at for Mary, who, on that theory, would be his only real human parent. The two genealogies differ. Luke says that Joseph was the son of Heli, while Matthew says that he was begotten by Jacob. Thus taking the scriptural text just as it stands, we have (1) the assertion that Jesus never had any human father, (2) the assertion that he was the son of Joseph, who was the son of Jacob, and (3) the assertion that he was supposed to be the son of Joseph, who was the son of Heli.

Here it would seem that there is repugnancy enough. Although Luke says, "as was supposed," it is clear that he must be held to have believed the supposition to be correct, for, if he had known it to be an error, it would have been his duty to leave out the statement altogether. It is noticeable that this genealogy given by Luke is the more elaborate since it carries the line back to Adam, while Matthew does not carry it beyond Abraham. It is also a curious reflection that Luke should be able to give all this line back to the days of Noah, Enoch and Adam, and yet did not know certainly whether Joseph were the father of Jesus, for, if this last fact were not true, the entire elaborate genealogy was of no importance in his narrative.

In the genealogy as given by Matthew we find Jechoniah as a link in the chain and it is said that he begat Salathiel. In Luke we find Salathiel, but he is there said to be the son of Neri. Both Matthew and Luke agree in making Salathiel the father of Zorobabel, showing that the same man was intended, but in I. Chronicles iii: 19, it is said that this Zorobabel was son of Pediah, who was brother of Salathiel. In I. Chronicles iii: 17, we, however, find that Salathiel, as declared by Matthew, was the son of Jechoniah, and in Jeremiah we find Jechoniah declared to be childless. "Thus saith the Lord, Write ye this man childless. He shall have none to sit upon the throne of David" (xxii: 30; xxxvi: 30).

It must be conceded that this is a curious state of affairs to be found in an inerrant book. Can it be fairly and honestly claimed that anything can be "conclusively proved" under such conditions, especially if the fact sought to be established is of the most extraordinary nature?

If our conscientious priest considers the prophetic passage from Isaiah, quoted by Matthew, he will certainly find that in the original Hebrew the term, now translated as virgin, means no more than a young marriageable woman. The prediction in Isaiah was of an event which was to occur within a very few years. Such a child was born at that period, for he is twice referred to as if then present or at least then living.

The birth of this child was to be a proof that within these few years a certain land should be delivered from the invaders. It could not have referred to the birth of a child nearly seven hundred and fifty years from that date.

If our priest continues his studies, he will find that Jesus never alluded to a miraculous conception on even a single occasion. He was nowhere called by his relatives or disciples during his entire life and ministry other than the son of Joseph. The apostles never in their sermons, speeches or epistles made any use of such miracle in way of illustration, argument or doctrine of any kind. Their silence is complete and unqualified. On the contrary, St. Paul does say (Romans i: 3) that Jesus "was born of the seed of David according to the flesh." In Acts ii: 30, speaking of David, it is said that God promised "that of the fruit of his loins, according to the flesh, he would raise up Christ to sit on his throne." Again in Acts xiii: 23, it is said, referring to David, "Of this man's seed hath he raised up Jesus." Mary is not known to have spoken but once on the subject, and then she called Joseph his father. "Behold, thy father and I have sought thee sorrowing." This testimony is clear enough.

If our conscientious priest, mindful of his vows, pursued other studies, he would find the story of Gautama, the Buddha. Consider what this was. Recall the marvelous stories told of his birth: that he descended

from heaven into his mother's womb, that he had no earthly father, that therefore it was a miraculous and immaculate conception, that he was absolutely sinless and was omniscient, that his incarnation was a voluntary act of his own. Recall how angels assisted at his birth, how the aged saint prophesied that the child would show the people the way of salvation, that nature altered her course to keep a shadow on his cradle, that wise men came through the air miraculously guided to the exact spot where he was, that they sang noble hymns declaring that the child was to extinguish the fires of sorrow, that he was to enlighten the world, to guide men to the promised land, to be the great physician healing all diseases and doing away with all the miseries of life and death.

Recalling that all this was a widely prevalent belief five centuries before Jesus, what are we to say to it, if we decide to disregard evidence and accept traditions because they represent the faith of millions of men? If we accept in one case such facts without proof, why must we not in another case do the same thing? If we hold that the prior fact is proven by the remarkable subsequent events, by the apparent influence of the personality, by the vast numbers of men who have listened to his words and have believed, what shall we then say about Gautama? If our priest consult the "Britannica," he will find it stated that now, twenty-five centuries after the death of Gautama,

there are four hundred and fifty millions of his followers, but he will not on that account treat these stories as more than myths or legends, and none of the bishops will censure him for his failure to believe, but will rather commend him for his good common sense.

The Church declares that whatever may not be conclusively proved by Scripture is not necessary. This idea of the Virgin birth cannot be so proved and therefore the Church is bound to agree that it is not necessary. If we were to ask which of the two scriptural views would be taken by any man of sound mind who was not seeking ordination at the hands of the bishops, would there even be the slightest doubt which view he would adopt? All men agree that belief in an historical fact must rest on some sort of evidence. In this case it is absolutely clear that there never could have been any competent evidence concerning such a fact, even if it were true, for, in its very nature, it is utterly incapable of any evidence such as a reasonable and intelligent man would or could accept. Whether it were true or not could not have been positively ascertained even by contemporaries having all possible opportunity for investigation coupled with the most critical capacity. In the light of the formularies of the Church, to say that it declares this to be *the* cardinal doctrine, *the* essential fact, *the* fundamental tenet, could only proceed from a mind perverted and corrupted by the taint of eccle-

siasticism. If such a fact be true the Church cannot, under Article XX., so declare nor require it to be held as a part of the faith. But the Church cannot deny to any man the right to hold and assert such idea if he see fit so to do. No one, however, will seriously declare that the Virgin birth is, or ever was, a verifiable historic fact in any true and real sense. The most they can say is that it is a dogmatic or ecclesiastical fact, which implies that it is not a fact in the ordinary sense. The more correct language would be to say that it is an ecclesiastical fiction which is necessary as a part of a system of speculative philosophy. If a man see this clearly he may then use the word "fact" in a peculiar, restricted sense as a proposition connected with a system which seems to him useful and even necessary.

In the development of systems of law, a great advantage is supposed to have been derived from the use of legal fictions. These were arbitrary assumptions which no one was allowed formally to deny or controvert in legal procedure, although every one was fully aware that the fact assumed was not really true. Its assumption was supposed to be a necessary part of a system which was being slowly created and judges and counsel used the phrases without even implying any sort of belief in the facts thus assumed. This use of legal fictions is a most interesting element in the history of law. It finds a pretty close parallel

in the history of theology, though confusion is caused in the lay mind by calling the assumption a fact and not a fiction. History is not to be treated critically, it is said, in the face of a philosophic necessity. The fact must be assumed or the whole philosophy breaks down. The question is of a most serious character, whether a religious philosophy that rests upon the unverifiable assumption of plain historic facts is not doomed to break down in any event sooner or later, whether, in so important a field as religion, it is permissible to rest upon ecclesiastical fictions.

Rev. C. A. Briggs said in the "North American Review" for June, 1906: "Thus all departments of criticism verify and confirm the Virgin birth *as a dogmatic fact*. Whoever accepts the authority of the Bible or of the Church as final is obliged to accept this as an article of his faith." He then goes on to observe that "the modern mind is not content to accept any dogma on the testimony of the Bible or on the testimony of the Church or on the testimony of both combined." This is certainly a very accurate observation. He then declares that the dogma is necessary, for "if we insist on the idea of birth by ordinary generation, we could not escape the conclusion that a human, individual person was begotten. Such could not accomplish salvation. If the son of God only inhabited the man Jesus, he might save that man, but how could he accomplish the salvation

of the human race? It would not differ in principle from the indwelling of the divine spirit in a man. The man Jesus would be a prophet, a hero, a great exemplar but not the Savior of mankind. He might be the last and greatest of the Heroes of Faith but not God incarnate. Natural generation *could not possibly give* us such a God-man. *Therefore,* the doctrine of the Virgin birth is essential, by which is meant that it is essential to the *system of doctrine* and the faith of the Church. *It is not, however, essential to the faith or Christian life of the individuals.* The doctrine may be so difficult that they cannot honestly accept it. They may even deny it without accepting the logical consequences of such denial."

It is commonly supposed that the entire aim and purpose of the Church is to induce individuals to hold the faith and lead a Christian life. It is certainly true that such a life cannot be led except by individuals. Now if the dogma is not essential to these individuals, why is it essential to the Church, which operates solely on such individuals? Professor Briggs declares that "the methods and principles used in discussing the Virgin birth apply equally well to all the other dogmas." Therefore no dogmas are essential to individuals in leading the Christian life and may properly be left to those who see the philosophic necessity and hold the speculative system of which those dogmas are a part.

This is the exact position taken by the English

Church, which relegates all dogma to its proper and subordinate place. Dogma is essential to "the system of doctrine," but is not essential to the faith or Christian life of individuals, and the modern mind rejects it.

It is interesting to learn from Dr. Briggs that "the only question that is debatable is whether the story rests directly upon the testimony of Joseph and Mary or comes indirectly through their children or whether it originated in the family, after the death of Joseph and Mary, *as a pious conception*," and he says that "this is a question we have no means of answering." He then goes on to say that "*if* it rests upon the testimony of Joseph and Mary, they were the very best witnesses" and he asks "how could *either* Joseph or Mary be mistaken as to this matter?" The more pertinent question would be as to how Joseph could have testified in the matter at all. Does the learned Doctor believe that there ever was in this world a tribunal, even of most pious men, who would not have treated with perfect derision and scorn the testimony of a man who said he was not the father of a certain woman's child, and that therefore he testified, of his own knowledge, that the child never had any father at all? If the man declared that he was told this in a dream, would it strengthen his evidence? Dr. Briggs concedes that it is impossible to say that this idea did not originate as a mere pious theory after the death of all parties concerned and he has not even a scrap of evidence as to when or where the idea did originate.

It is a terrible thing that religion, which should be the sublimest and greatest thing within the range of a man's mind, should be tangled up and involved in such petty and irrational notions as this. That the spiritual status of the whole race should depend upon a single historic fact which it is impossible to verify and which, in its very nature, never could have been adequately proved, is incredible and unworthy of consideration by a rational man.

We must now consider the matter of scriptural inspiration. No man has any right to define and explain this term with precision and claim that it is an utterance for which the Church is responsible, for in this matter nothing at all has been said in the formularies. The statement in Article VI. cannot be properly used in support of any special theory. That a book contains the truth can never be construed as of necessity meaning that all that it contains is true. That it contains all that is necessary need not mean that all contained therein is necessary. It is idle to discuss the matter, for, if any idea may be regarded as *res adjudicata*, this is certainly such. We do not, therefore, propose to consider it in any critical way whatsoever. Everybody knows that it has been considered patiently and exhaustively and that concerning it a great literature already exists. Every one knows what the verdict is and that the question will never

again be reopened. Ecclesiastics speak as if this result had been wholly due to a scholastic and remorseless scientific criticism, but this is not so. Enough to show that the Book is not in a strict and peculiar sense infallible lies on its very surface and is discernible and comprehensible by any person who is able to read it at all. That it did not agree with recondite theories of science would be a small matter, but when it offends the universal moral sense, when it prescribes conduct that every well-trained boy knows would be disastrous to the highest interests of society, it is a serious matter.

It is therefore very difficult to understand the willingness of the bishops to make their assertions when they openly and notoriously disregard so much that is clearly set forth as ideas and commands of Jesus. How can they be so concerned about his conception and birth and yet set aside his explicit and easily understood directions as to conduct? If they stated their theory and consistently applied it to the "whole canon," taking everything in its full literal sense, insisting upon every detail as essential, their position would be intelligible, whatever we might think of their common sense; but this is never done.

If the idea of infallibility applies at all in an absolute sense, it must so attach to the words of Jesus in the highest degree. It is incredible that his utterances should be treated as they are by ecclesiastics, for such treatment is utterly irreconcilable with their

theories and dogmas. If men could once escape from the atmosphere of cant and falsehood in which they live they would be amazed at this inconsistency, for there are numerous clear and explicit utterances of Jesus that are entirely disregarded and repudiated by men who declare him to be God and this record of his speech to be infallibly correct. Let us consider a very few of them.

As to the qualities and powers which mark the disciple and believer, we read *first*, If any man cometh unto me, and hateth not his own father, and mother, and wife, and children, and brethren, and sisters, yea, and even his own life, he cannot be my disciple. Whoever he be of you that renounceth not all that he hath, he cannot be my disciple (Luke xiv: 26, 33). *Second*, If ye have faith and doubt not and if ye shall say unto this mountain, Be thou taken up and cast into the sea, it shall be done. And all things whatsoever ye shall ask in prayer, believing, ye shall receive. Believe that ye have received them, and ye shall receive them. If ye had faith as a grain of mustard seed, ye might say unto this sycamine tree, Be thou rooted up and be thou planted in the sea and it should obey you. If two of you shall agree on earth as touching anything that they shall ask, it shall be done for them of my father which is in heaven (Mark xi: 23, 24; Luke xvii: 6; Matt. xviii: 19). *Third*, And these signs shall follow them that believe: in my name

shall they cast out devils; they shall speak with new tongues; they shall take up serpents, and if they drink any deadly thing, it shall in no wise hurt them; they shall lay hands on the sick, and they shall recover (Mark xvi: 17, 18; Luke x: 19).

Judged by this standard, how many disciples and believers are there in this Church? Is there even one in the entire House of Bishops? And yet the standard is a very easy one to use and the verdict cannot remain in doubt. The tests of drinking deadly poisons and healing the sick do not demand opportunities not easily within reach of all men. It is fortunate and wise that these passages are not taken as a basis for the examination of candidates for ordination.

Let us cite some of the direct commands of Jesus as given in the Gospels and ask the bishops why, if the record is infallibly correct and these commands are uttered by the voice of God, they do not obey them. Why do they magnify and emphasize the conception and keep silent about the commands which the miracle of that conception was, as they declare, designed to render authoritative for all time? These are a few of the inspired commands:

First, Give to every man that asketh of thee, and from him that would borrow of thee turn not thou away. Of him that taketh away thy goods ask them not again. Lend hoping for nothing again. Sell whatsoever thou hast and give to the poor (Matt. v: 42;

xix: 21; Mark x: 21; Luke vi: 30; xii: 33; xviii: 22). *Second,* Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth. Blessed are ye that are poor and hungry and that weep. Woe unto you that are rich and are full and that laugh (Matt. vi: 19; Luke vi: 20–25; xvi: 19–26). *Third,* Take no thought for your life, what you shall eat or what you shall wear. Behold the birds of the air. They sow not and yet your father feedeth them. Consider the lilies of the field. They toil not and yet he clothes them. Therefore take no thought for the morrow (Matt. vi: 25–34; Luke xii: 22–30). *Fourth,* Resist not evil. Whosoever smites you on the right cheek, turn to him the other also. If he take your coat, let him have your cloak also. If he compel you to go a mile, go with him twain (Matt. v: 39–42; Luke vi: 29, 30). *Fifth,* When thou makest a dinner or supper, call not thy friends, nor thy brethren, nor thy kinsmen, nor rich neighbors; lest haply they also bid you again, and a recompense be made thee. But when thou makest a feast, bid the poor, the maimed, the lame, the blind: and thou shalt be blessed; because they have not the wherewithal to bless thee (Luke xiv: 12–14).

These commands are given without limitation or qualification. Do the members of the House of Bishops obey any of them? Did the bishops ever issue a pastoral setting forth their value and importance as divine commands which were being so disregarded that

"the minds of many of the faithful clergy and laity are disturbed and distressed"? Did they desire to comfort them with the firm assurance that the episcopate was zealously obeying these commands and urging them in every way and at all times upon the thoughtful consideration of the Church? Have they ever "felt constrained to address them on these fundamental and cardinal precepts," and if not, why? It cannot be because they see no lack of fidelity in these respects. Have they never been "pained and grieved" over the failure of at least some portion of the faithful clergy and laity to realize the significance and importance of these utterances unto salvation?

It would be impossible to use these statements, or any of them, as material for a church service after the usual responsive model. Even to write out such a service would be regarded as offensive and would excite great indignation, because it would be felt to be ridiculous. The bishops would say that it was terrible, and so it would be, but why? We have not invented these statements, but we find them in a volume which the bishops hand us and which they declare to be absolutely inspired and infallible. It is all said to be above and beyond criticism and no power exists, or ever will exist, to change or modify or repeal these commands. Why, then, are they by practically universal agreement utterly ignored?

If a few verses are enough to render such an extraordinary fact as a miraculous conception fundamental and cardinal, so as to exclude all the clergy who do not believe it, why do the bishops ordain men who do not believe any of these special commands of Jesus and who flagrantly and openly disregard them every day of their lives? A man might by silence conceal his want of belief in the Virgin birth, but he could not conceal his want of belief in these precepts, for his life as he walks before his fellows would at once betray him. Silence in words would avail him nothing. There would be no need to ask him a single question, so that, if we seek for a test of a man's belief in the inerrancy of Scripture, we may find it here. Now, whatever commands of Jesus the bishops reverence and obey, it is certain that these we have cited are not among them and this proves that they do exercise judgment, that they do select some and reject others. In other words, they recognize the sovereignty of reason and so they do not really accept the infallibility of Scripture.

We now come to the creeds. The bishops say that these "are voices from above, *once for all determined by the operation of the Holy Ghost upon the mind of the Church,*" and that "no other than the *original sense* of the creeds may be lawfully held and taught." Is this anything more than mere pious verbiage? What con-

stitutes the mind of the Church if it be not the mind of those human beings who compose the body? If the Church ever had a mind, why has it not the same to-day and, if it could be operated upon in the past, why can it not also be operated on now? It is the unique function of mind to act and express itself and it never abdicates its rights. It recognizes no prior exercise of its own powers as finally and irrevocably binding even upon itself. The whole course of Church history shows the corporate life by the intense activity of this mind, resulting in constant change and development. Nothing has been permanent, for it is pure fancy, without any historic basis, to say that any single idea was ever at any time fixed once for all. Creeds have been repeatedly amended, modified and frequently have been entirely discarded. No such creed as the bishops refer to was ever made. On the contrary, every creed they possess to-day was the result of centuries of wrangling and even of fighting. These creeds sprang from political turmoil, from the bitterness and hatred of contending factions extending over long periods of time. They were changed according to the vicissitudes of social and political life and were finally imposed by force, cruel and despotic. We must never forget that the present creeds were literally forced upon men by sheer political power, that no dissent was permitted under penalty of torture and death, that the mind cannot conceive tortures more atrocious and more wickedly ingenious than were

inflicted to uphold these creeds, that for ages they were therefore accepted, not because of any belief in them but because of necessity in the presence of arbitrary power armed with the sword and holding the keys of the dungeon and torture chamber. Most men have either never read this history or seem to have forgotten it. There are no darker and bloodier pages in the records of man than those which tell how at various times these creeds were protected from criticism. To the historical student they have terrible connotations.

In the English Prayer Book, there are three creeds but only two in our American Book, for the Church in this country repudiated the Athanasian by an almost unanimous vote and came very near doing the same with the Nicene. It did express a desire and intention to do so, and the presence of the Nicene to-day is due to a compromise with the English ecclesiastics whereby it was admitted as an alternative that might be read but never need be if the officiating clergyman chose not to avail himself of the alternative. Its use was merely permissive or discretionary. The Nicene Creed as a required formula of belief in this country is either unnecessary or illegal. The American Church has formally declared in the baptismal service and in the catechism that the Apostles' Creed contains "all the articles of the faith." If the Nicene contains nothing that is not also in the Apostles' Creed, it is then superfluous and so un-

necessary except as liturgical rhetoric. If it does contain what is not in the Apostles', then it is not a necessary article of faith and to impose it as a standard of belief is clearly illegal. This was distinctly and commonly understood at the organization of the Church in this country and it was a decision made deliberately with set purpose. In the Prayer Book of 1785, the Nicene Creed did not appear at all even as an alternative. At that date it was intended to keep it out altogether, but later it was admitted to its subordinate position. Its function is now purely liturgical, being used for dramatic effect, as if it were a fine rhetorical presentation or paraphrase of the Apostles' Creed, on great festival occasions, without insistence on any exact interpretation of its ancient phrases. To use it as a doctrinal standard in this country betrays either ignorance of the law of this Church or a deliberate disregard of that law.

When we consider the history of creeds, we find that for more than three centuries there was no creed or rule of faith universally accepted or authoritatively imposed, unless it be the baptismal formula expressing belief in Father, Son and Holy Ghost. In the year 325, the famous Council of Nice formulated and established a creed, and it is a fact that the Nicene Creed had not a word to say about the miraculous conception or the inerrancy of Scripture, so that, according to the Pastoral of 1894, it omitted the cardinal, essential and fundamental tenets of the faith. Did the voice from above

determine this creed once for all, and if so why do not the bishops use it as it was originally framed? As it now stands in the liturgy, it contains very much that was not in it originally, and omits very much of what was then a part. Its present form did not come into general use until the ninth century.

The most elaborate creed, or voice from above, is that called the Athanasian. It is remarkable that this does not say a word about either of what the bishops call the fundamental verities. Dean Stanley points out that the distinction between "person" and "substance" which is so strongly affirmed in the Athanasian, was in the original Nicene Creed altogether denied and the so-called "double procession," which was pointedly denied in the Nicene, was in the Athanasian made a part of the catholic faith indispensable to salvation. This is a curious conflict between two voices from above determined once for all. Speaking of the Athanasian, Dean Stanley observes that "the history of its reception is gangrened with imposture."

To say that any creed is a voice from above never to be altered or criticized, never to be open to interpretation, never to be seen in any new light as rendered possible by advancing knowledge, is to set up an idol for worship. The plain truth is that, if the creed cannot be interpreted into harmony with what men now believe to be true, it will be destroyed and die. He who made can destroy, and instead of doing this he may at first

try to revise and interpret. If the day arrives when the creed is seen to be no longer useful, it will certainly disappear, and this is sure to happen if we insist on what the bishops call the *original* sense, for to insist on a so-called original, which is merely the medieval, meaning and *tell the people what this is*, would without any doubt destroy the creed at once. If this original meaning can be talked *about* and nothing ever said as to what that meaning is, it will of course seem to be a very pious idea and will be much commended, for each man will imagine and assume that his own idea is the original one. The old medieval sense has, however, disappeared from the minds of thinking men and for them it will never return. When the bishops declare that only the "original sense" may be lawfully held, they evidently mean merely the superficial and popular sense, assuming that this was the original. There is a good deal of truth in this assumption and yet the very crudest ideas that any person is likely to hold in this modern environment are very far away from the medieval conceptions, which would to-day shock even an illiterate person, if he had absorbed anything from the society that surrounds him. It is therefore a very dangerous phrase for the bishops to use, but they have formally used it and have tried to commit the Church to it.

The creeds as we now have them are medieval productions and the reason why we have so much trouble about them is twofold. In the first place, we have lost all the

fundamental notions that were prevalent in those days. We all see the universe and the whole problem of life in a different light and we cannot help it. This is so true that it is only the scholar that knows what the medieval ideas were, for they have disappeared from all even of the popular thought. They not only do not appeal to the modern mind but they repel and shock it when presented as possible truth. In the second place, we have a different personal ideal and deem it necessary to understand and be honest in saying we believe these formulas, and this was nearly an unknown quantity in those ages. Rational truth was totally divorced from ecclesiastical truth and it was agreed that a man was not expected to believe in dogma as he did in facts which rested on a rational basis. He accepted them, assented to them, because the Church said that he must, but this did not import what we call personal belief and so there was really no dishonesty, for the entire transaction involved no individual responsibility. The Church assumed all that.

The early heretics, who disclosed the protestant spirit, were therefore regarded as incomprehensible, wilful, stubborn malcontents who troubled themselves about matters that should not have concerned them at all. They should conform, keep silent and think as they pleased, as all the ecclesiastics did and thought it right to do. Why a man should be willing to suffer merely for the privilege of expressing publicly his ideas was

then a mystery and to a large degree is so to-day. That he should not be permitted to do this was clear because it threatened to disturb the existing order and challenged the authority of the Church. He was punished not because his ideas were wrong, for most of his persecutors agreed with him, but because he would not keep still. He jeopardized an institution that was immensely profitable to the men who administered it and that was honestly supposed to be essential to the public peace and welfare. This spirit was disclosed in the advice given in 1415 to John Huss: "If the Council were to assert that you have only one eye though you have two, you ought to agree with the Council's opinion." Huss said, "If the whole world were to tell me so, I could not, so long as I have the reason I now enjoy, agree without doing violence to my conscience." He had the spirit of a martyr because he had the singleness of character which made life impossible if purchased by the overthrow of his moral and intellectual sincerity. His friend, as a man of letters and culture, looked with contempt on theological disputes. He found it hard to sympathize with men who thought it worth while to rebel against the system of the Church. To his mind theological questions were not of much importance. The established system must, of course, be maintained for the preservation of order, but, after a decent recognition of its outward authority, the cultivated individual might think or act as he pleased, so long as he avoided

open collision. He had no fellow feeling with a man who was prepared to die for his opinions and thought him clumsy for reducing himself to such an unpleasant alternative.

Let us consider two short sentences of the creed as an illustration of the real significance of the bishops' demand for the original or medieval sense. In the English book we find, "he descended into hell" and "he ascended into heaven." We are at once surprised, for, in our American book, we find a rubric preceding the creed and it says that "any Churches may *omit* the words 'he descended into hell' or may instead of them use the words, 'he went into the place of departed spirits.'" Here is a mutilation of the creed, a removal of one entire sentence uttered by the "voice from above once for all," so that in this country we not only need not say these words in their original meaning, but we may take another suggested meaning which softens and transforms the entire sense or we need not say the words at all in any sense. The Church has officially excused us from obeying the bishops' command at all about this sentence, which indeed was wholly omitted from the Prayer Book of 1785. Now, if the Church may annul this one sentence, it may annul any and every other sentence and so repeal the whole creed. This action, that has already been taken, asserts the full authority and destroys the theory that the creed is "a voice from

above uttered once for all." The abolition of the Athanasian, the relegation of the Nicene to a subordinate liturgical position, and the amendment and modification of the Apostles' Creed by the removal of an entire sentence show the freedom with which this Church has already dealt with creeds.

The words we are thus allowed to omit are, however, of a vast and mysterious significance, for taken in their original, medieval sense they declare and connote, *first*, that there is a definitely located place called hell to which Jesus went at death. This statement, if made outside the creed, on some occasion when people paid some little attention to the meaning of words, would shock the modern mind. Now the medieval man had the task of locating Jesus between his death and resurrection, and as he could not consistently say that Jesus was on earth or in heaven, he was forced to conceive a visit to hell, the only other place in his scheme of the universe. *Second*, that this hell was a place below the earth, so that you literally descended into it as into a cellar. The earth was a great stationary plane surface over which the sun moved. Thus the word "descended" was then strictly true. The vast region of hell was exactly and definitely located right underneath the earth and there was no doubt about it. *Third*, the medieval conception of hell is well known and it was certainly vivid and realistic, all of which was and is, of course, connoted by the use of the word, if we do

not interpret, but take it in its original and popular sense. Dante and Milton come to mind to enlighten us as to this sentence of the creed. *Fourth*, endless punishment of those who have been doomed, as was then supposed, to bear the torments ingeniously provided by the boundless resources of a vindictive God. *Fifth*, as this visit, if made, could hardly have been without a purpose and result, the medievalist exercised his ingenuity in seeking to discover this, and naturally some one of the various explanations would be in the mind of any person then reciting this sentence with full belief in it. The idea most in harmony with the general thought of the times would be that the visit was made to add to the agony of the dwellers in hell by a vision of what they had lost, so as to make the damned realize the infinite penalty inflicted for the sin of Adam in eating the forbidden fruit. This is, of course, a very imperfect and inadequate study of this sentence from the medieval point of view, but it is enough to indicate the point we desire to make.

It ought to be needless to add that these words in the creed are absolutely without any scriptural support. The only passage bearing on the point is that where Jesus is reported to have said to the thief on the cross, "This day thou shalt be with me in paradise." According to the creed it should read, "This day thou shalt be with me in hell." But can it be true that the word "hell" in the creed is to be interpreted as the exact

equivalent of "paradise" in the Scripture? How can the Church justify the retention of this clause?

The words "he ascended into heaven," if taken in the original, medieval sense, state and connote, *first*, that there is a definitely located place called heaven to which Jesus finally went. *Second*, that it is above the earth, so that you ascend up into it. The earth is a great level plane which stands still while the sun moves over it. Heaven is exactly located in the vast space above this flat, stationary earth just as hell is below it. In the ages of faith, "ascended" was supposed to be literally true, but for us it has no exact meaning whatever. *Third*, the medieval conception of heaven is well known and it was certainly vivid and realistic, all of which is, of course, connoted by the use of the word. *Fourth*, into this Jesus ascended with his flesh, bones, blood and all that pertained to his man's nature. The very physical body ascended and is now in heaven seated on a throne at the right hand of God. If this seems to any one a strained idea, let him turn to Article IV., where he will find it all so stated. Then, in the English Prayer Book, in an elaborate rubric at the end of the communion service, he will again find it stated that "the natural body and blood of Jesus are now in heaven and not here." This rubric was omitted from our American book. Furthermore, it was held that it was in and with this identical physical body that Jesus was to come at the end of the world as final judge.

Thinking this of Jesus, they would readily believe that all men would rise in and with their physical bodies, for, from such a supposition, this idea seemed to them reasonable and natural. *Fifth*, this vision of Jesus, in his physical earthly body, sitting on a throne on the right hand of the Father, leads us to the fact that the original medieval idea of God was tritheistic and grossly anthropomorphic. Of this there is the most abundant evidence. There was in the minds of most men who said the creed an idea of three Gods, clearly differentiated as three distinct and separate personalities. It requires a good deal of spiritual interpretation to hold to the orthodox phrases and escape this to-day. The old tritheistic idea has held its own in a remarkable way and is more prevalent now than any one is ready to admit. It is indeed difficult to see how this sentence can be taken in this original sense and escape this implication. Now if "he ascended" must necessarily mean his physical body, why does not "he descended" equally refer to it, for otherwise we give two inconsistent meanings to the word "he." The medievalists never appear to have thought that the physical body went to hell, but agreed that it remained on earth until the resurrection. This is a great inconsistency, for it admits that the term "he" may be fully satisfied by referring it to the spiritual essence separated from the physical body.

We might make a similar exposition of other sentences, but it is painful and shocking to say such things

at all. Yet the student knows that all this was once the common and accepted sense and he declares that it is simply incredible that any man, who knows "the ages of faith" in any sort of detail, should talk of believing the creed as it was then universally accepted.

To show still more clearly the temper and status of the "ages of faith" and reveal how impossible it is to-day to see or think as men then did, let us recall a discussion that was held in 1462, for the details of which we may refer to Dr. Creighton, the Bishop of London. On Easter Sunday of that year, Fra Giacomo took occasion to assert, in preaching at Brescia, that the blood of Jesus shed on the ground at the crucifixion was not an object of worship, since it was separated from his divine person. It was an old dispute, whether the blood so shed and while it was on the ground had lost the hypostatic union of the Logos. This opinion was condemned as heretical and a recantation was demanded. Giacomo, however, repeated his discourse and cited authorities. Both parties agreed that every drop of the blood did in some magical way return to the body before the resurrection, so that the whole dispute was as to its status during the three days it was on the ground. There was a furious strife. The people were divided and the hatred of rival theologians was let loose in all its fanaticism. The bishop interposed in vain. Finally the matter was referred to the Pope, Pius II., who proclaimed a truce

and summoned all parties to Rome to a disputation. This began before the Pope and Cardinals on Christmas Day, 1462, the popular discussion having been raging since Easter. Three eminent advocates appeared for each side and they argued for three entire days. A full record of this debate still exists as made by the Pope. When all had been heard the Pope conferred with the Cardinals for several days and decided against Giacomo, citing a decision made in 1351 by Clement VI., and found in the Papal Archives. The blood retained its world-saving quality even while lying on the ground separated from the body.

It is clear that men who so held would insist on a physical resurrection and a physical ascension and the present physical presence of Jesus in a definitely located heaven seated on a throne. It is, however, impossible to imagine such a discussion at the Vatican to-day. The whole medieval environment has disappeared and it can never be re-established. The very fundamental assumptions have passed away. It is not a difference in details but a radical difference going down to the very basis of all thinking. The bishops may plead and work for a revival of medievalism, but they will never succeed with those who know what it means.

If we are to continue to use the creed it must be regarded as a mere symbol for universal use, and it then derives value and becomes available for such purpose

merely by reason of its susceptibility to a great variety of interpretations. A man must then expect some divergence from his own ideas, and to this he must submit because of the fact that the symbol is not made for him alone but for a multitude of men varying from each other in every conceivable way. If it fits no one perfectly, it is because it fits all in a measurably effective way, and this is all that is practicable. To impose one interpretation is impossible because men could never agree as to what this should be. The creed is loose, vague, general and it is to this that its vitality is due. It means to each man just what he sees in it. It is a skeleton frame on which he hangs his ideas. Until he gets some ideas it is a perfectly bare skeleton, for it is only as he is able to interpret it that it comes to mean anything at all. This is not true of the creed in any other way than it is true of all other formulas and indeed all other words, for these are mere symbols and connote much or little according to the man who uses them. But, owing to the difficulty of the subject, it is, nevertheless, peculiarly true of the creed, which has no meaning at all until it is interpreted in some way or degree. If this be absent it becomes a mere pious formula, a mere fetish, the saying of which is supposed to be meritorious without much regard to its exact meaning. To save the creed for reflecting men the utmost freedom and even laxity of interpretation is becoming necessary.

Such symbols as God, Christ and Holy Spirit are extremely difficult terms to comprehend in any real way and few people can give any expression whatever to their thoughts with regard to them. A man's idea as to any one of these terms will connote all his thought and, if he develops, this idea will develop just as he does, and so his interpretation of the creed will be varying with his own life and progress. It is doubtful if there is one bishop who can interpret these words, or any of them, so as to make it seem adequate and satisfactory to any other bishop. If he were to try he would probably fall back on conventional phrases which he would suppose that the other would not dare to question and this would only serve to evade the issue and conceal a failure really to interpret at all. These customary phrases are used to cover up the absence of all thought.

A man works out what seems to him the very best explanation after years of thought and the first man to whom he shows it says, "It is a splendid and noble conception, but you will hardly get others to agree with you because they will not look into it as profoundly as you have. You will excite a prejudice against yourself by such work. If you are going to stay inside the Church, you had better drop all this, fine and great as it is. It will never do if you want to get ahead. You must stick to the old commonplaces." Now, must the man conceal his ideas because of this or must we make him

feel free to give his ideas for what they may be worth? Must he leave the Church to find freedom to state his results or shall he find the most sympathetic response to his conscientious work inside the Church? Whatever is true in practice to-day, what is the ideal of the Church? Shall the prophet and interpreter be proscribed?

At a time some years since, when it was sought to restrain within some reasonable limits the ultra-ritualistic wing of the Church, Mr. Gladstone used these words: "It is high time that there should be a careful argument upon the justice and morality of late ecclesiastical proceedings; that the Archbishop should be awakened out of his fool's paradise and made to understand that, though reverence for his office has up to this time in a wonderful manner kept people silent about his proceedings, yet the time has come when a beginning must be made towards describing these without circumlocution in their true colors; and it must likewise be shown how judicial proceedings are governed by extra-judicial considerations and a system is growing up under which ecclesiastical judges are becoming the virtual legislators of the Church, while its legislature is silent."

These words disclose the tone used by a layman, at the other extreme of opinion in the Church from myself, in reference to the highest ecclesiastical dignitary when it was sought to limit the freedom of that critic's associates. These words might well be adopted by the

Broad wing when it is now attacked and no more favorable result could be asked to-day than was then secured by the ritualists. They were directly and explicitly ordered to desist from what was designated as mummery and superstitious practices. They caused great scandals and dissensions, resulting in riots, but they most stubbornly refused to obey episcopal authority, stood upon their extremest legal rights and in the end have been tolerated. Such treatment of the malcontents was probably the wisest course and one most in harmony with the comprehensive character of the English Church, but for a spectacle of disobedience and insubordination it would be impossible to conceive more extreme cases than at that time arose. The technical ground upon which these ultra-ritualists then rested their case and asserted their rights is precisely that on which the ultra-Broad wing now stands and that on which indeed all parties in the Church stand, claiming the right not to be coerced in matters of doctrine and interpretation by the episcopate, claiming that the bishops cannot in such directions exercise legislative functions. Strictly speaking, under the law of the Church the entire episcopate has no more power to interpret the creed and formularies than any layman. Their utterance is no more final and conclusive than an interpretation of the United States Constitution by the President and Cabinet would be on the humblest citizen. *In theory* the Church admits that even a united episcopate may still be in error.

If there were reason to suppose that these Pastoral Letters stated the only position rightly tenable within the Church, I should not deem it of the slightest importance to write a single sentence and I should have no further interest in the Church as an organization vitally related either to the present or to the future. If such utterances were to be regarded as authoritative and final, as truly interpretative of the attitude of the Church, we might feel that it had already become what Bishop Brooks feared it might become, "a mere fantastic sect."

On the contrary, I do believe these Pastorals to have been one of the greatest mistakes ever made by the American episcopate. No more astounding definition of Christianity has ever been made anywhere by anybody. If the bishops' contention were correct Christianity might well be regarded as no longer of any practical importance or significance. I am so far from believing this as to be convinced that the true meaning of Christianity is only beginning to be apprehended by the masses of men, that its glory lies not in the past but in the present and chiefly in the future. We stand, it seems to me, almost at the end of a great social and theological era and on the threshold of a new period of development. At this time of transition, which is inevitably a period of confusion and hesitancy, it seems to me that of all the present existing organizations the Church of England and the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States are those best fitted to serve the high pur-

poses of the future. Such fitness was and is imperiled by these reactionary utterances, which, if sustained as final and conclusive, would deprive the Church of that comprehensiveness and breadth which has been its peculiar characteristic as a religious body. While it certainly cannot be claimed that there has not been a vast amount of ecclesiastical tyranny and a very eager and aggressive intolerance appearing at times as a very narrow and exclusive spirit, it is still true that, in the midst of it all, there has always been a theory which was its exact opposite and there have never been wanting in each generation men who claimed and did receive the protection of this theory despite the anger of partisan factions. It is to this fundamental theory that those who are now proscribed will appeal and I believe that ultimately their appeal will be successful.

It is not probable that any body of men, however exalted by official position, can now change the comprehensive character and policy of the Church as disclosed in its history, in its traditions and in its literature. No reactionary movement will have any permanent effect, but, if this opinion be wrong, the sooner this is known, the more fully and clearly it is established as a changed attitude of the Church, the better it will be for the great human cause, which can and will forge ahead outside of all Churches if its purposes cannot be achieved inside of some one or more of them. It is certainly now open to these two great organizations to take the

practical leadership of the next great religious movement in the history of men, but, if they decline this, the movement will still continue, though doubtless with a different history and one less advantageous and beneficial for all existing Churches. The second great Reformation is certainly coming. Its conservative guidance and wise control, so far as it can be controlled, depends upon the attitude taken towards it by the existing Churches.

Believing this, the Pastoral Letters appeared extremely important and significant as possibly indicating a strong and united reactionary tendency which would at least hinder and embarrass the natural and normal development of the Church. The Letters seemed to show that all visible comprehension and toleration was to be formally repudiated if a united episcopate could find adequate power and authority to make its ideas effective. Scanty as had been the practical application of the theory of freedom, even this was to be denied and all were to become silent under a strictly enforced covenant of conformity. We may, however, recall a similar pastoral letter, issued in 1534, enjoining silence respecting masses for the dead, prayers to saints, pilgrimages and clerical celibacy, all of which were then becoming the subject of much denunciation. Men were forbidden to speak, but, inside one generation, these ideas had all been formally repudiated by the Church and they disappeared forever from English life.

If the bishops were to deny that the earth is a globe or declare that the sun moves round the earth, they would hardly trench on things that seem to me more truly *res adjudicata* than they do when they exalt these dogmas to the pinnacle of religious importance and significance. That any man should feel that his eternal safety depends on an historical fact which is not and never was provable or in any degree susceptible of clear and reasonable demonstration is, to my mind, simply inconceivable. That there is or can be any merit in merely closing one's eyes and declaring that he assents to such a fact and that, in some sense, so far as he can make himself do so, he believes it, is equally inconceivable to me. I do not believe these are really the thoughts and ideas of the men who make up the great body either of the clergy or laity. I do not so understand the great Church of the English-speaking race, for I know too well its splendid literature, I have read too much in its history and I know too well its long line of noble prophets. I see to-day in its ranks the best intelligence of our age, the noblest and sanest thought, and I refuse to believe that those clear-headed men constitute a Church resting on so inadequate a basis. When I see so many of the eminent clergy and highest dignitaries engaged in study of the most critical works of modern thinkers, when I see that these clerics have the utmost respect for the results of scholarship and disclose a keen sympathy with the spirit in which it is

and has been conducted, I know what these men think and believe with regard to the Virgin birth and I do not need to hear them shout it from the house-tops to guarantee the accuracy of my information. So, too, when I hear an Anglican talking of mass and the Mother of God, I do not need a certificate to prove his attitude towards anything whatever, for it is all disclosed clearly and fully. Now I have no desire to criticize these ultra-ritualists and I certainly would not want to exclude them from the Church if I had the power to do so, but I do think it is high time that such men should cease to insult and abuse all who differ from them. I know that leniency towards them is a proof of the Christian spirit, but it is incredible that they should not understand and appreciate that if there be a wing of the Church that rests on toleration pure and simple, that strains all the formularies, that disgusts and alienates thousands, it is their own extreme wing.

The typical churchman is neither very High, nor very Low, nor very Broad, but he is a blending of all three. The ultra-Broad always is and has been a tolerated element exactly as is the ultra-ritualist. The large body of the laity understands one about as well as it does the other, but I think it is true that the Broad is vastly more in harmony with the great theories of the Church and is essentially the expression of her highest spirit, which is only dimly understood and appreciated by the mass. The ultra-High does represent all that from which

the Church deliberately broke away, and its influence is calculated to undo all that has been accomplished by the heroic efforts of centuries. To escape from its ideals men suffered death and all cruelties. To accept again such leadership is now and forever impossible.

But, despite this, it is true that they have their place in the life of the Church and that they render valuable services. There are communities that need the masterful, despotic sway, where individualism, if applied, would result in a sort of anarchy, but it is not true that all communities need it. There are different stages of development and men are needed for all of these. It is therefore well that there should be some churchmen of the High type, but it would be a sad day for mankind if there were nothing else.

I shall never forget sitting in a cathedral on a great day of festival, with an old woman in the pew next behind me, kneeling so that her head came close to me as I sat upright. All that she said was, "Holy Mary, Holy Mary, Mither of God." This, repeated over and over again in endless iteration, was her whole cry. Tedious and wearisome as it was, could I fail to realize its full religious significance? Could I have tried to make that poor old soul understand just how it all seemed to me? Could I have done so if I had tried? Is it not perhaps fortunate that it is impossible? All that the schools could do had been done for me. I had

held in my hands and read the literature of all the ages of man. For thirty years I had been surrounded by the best and highest influences. I could understand her and to hear her broken words filled me with boundless sympathy. These words made her feel in some way that she was personally connected with all that was best. The great cathedral typified man's highest powers, impressive and overwhelming. The glorious music coming from the great organ, the living voices rising above all its majestic volume of sound, the flaming candles at the altar, the smell of the incense, the intoning of the priests, what did all this symbolize but the power and greatness of God as vested in man the creature? With all this she came into harmony. Of all this she felt that she became a part by the simple iteration of her magic formula. She was lifted up and a great dignity was added to her poverty-stricken life by these words. This was her sole connection with the great whole of the splendid humanity into which she was born and of which she had but the very crumbs and fragments. Could I not understand and sympathize with her? Did I wish to tell her that she was a poor, weak fool? But was it necessary that I should kneel down and say these same words, which to me were silly and meaningless, in order to save for her the precious privilege? Should I pull the cathedral down to prevent her incantations which to me were foolish but to her were real, valuable and helpful?

I would wish that there were no such ignorant old women, but to secure that is out of my power and so long as there are thousands of them and this sort of service is for them one more link to humanity, does any one want to cut them off from it? I can see no reason why I should not, and I see many reasons why I should, be in the same Church with this old woman, but this need not necessitate my agreeing with her ideas of life and conceptions of religion. All that she intends to seek, all that she expresses in her way, I intend and express in mine. We are united spiritually though we are separated intellectually. We are united in the substance, we are separated in the accidents, of life. The ideal Church will shelter us both and provide for each what is called for by the individual necessities. It will be all things to all men,— comprehensive, inclusive, and not narrow, sectarian and like a mere club. It would not imply inconsistency if it were developing at the same time along both the High and Broad lines, for this would show that it was reaching out to meet all the divergent needs of men.

In its effort thus to meet these needs, the Church has undergone great changes in the past, and it is certainly destined to do the same in the future. It has moved steadily on an ascending plane towards the final predominance of a sounder and saner theology. Its members have steadily been giving up ideas held sacred for

ages, but in so doing they seem not to have lost but to have gained in a religious and spiritual sense. The idea of holding men to dogmas by force and the infliction of penalties is disappearing from all the Churches. That idea once so universal is certainly destined utterly to fade away. I am sure that all the bishops rejoice that to-day the Church permits men to withdraw alive and unmutilated. All alike shrink with horror from the days when men had their ears sliced off, their cheeks slashed, their bowels torn out, their foreheads branded with the red-hot iron to reconcile them to the theology of a Christian Church. If we do speak we may still remain alive and abide with our families. We are all grateful for so much gained. The power of the sword has passed, it is to be hoped, forever from the hands of ecclesiastics. They may not now touch the person but they may still taint the reputation. The physical arm may not reach to inflict pain, but social ostracism may. The fagot is no longer in fashion, but the poisoned innuendo is. The torture of the one may be as exquisite as the other and the spirit governing its application may be as unjust and almost as brutal. So long as there is any persecution in the Church because of theological opinions sincerely held by earnest and intelligent men, there is a duty resting on all who believe that such a course is wrong to exert themselves to set it right.

Having granted the full right to withdraw, the Church ought now to make conditions such that no serious and

earnest seeker after truth would feel that he could possibly withdraw. He should find the spirit of the Church such that he could only feel it a joy and a duty to remain and help to protect, preserve and develop it. The ideal Church should be the congenial home of all who seek for a higher vision of religious truth. That this ideal has thus far been very imperfectly realized is painfully apparent.

It is frequently asked why a man who does not agree with the common and apparently dominant thought of the Church wishes to remain in it. Why does he not go away and cease to molest and make priests afraid? If he does not agree with the authorities, he can at least depart and let them work out their ideas unhampered by his criticism. Now such men may feel that it is a plain duty to remain and the fact that they are not wanted may but add to the sense of duty. It is often necessary to stay when wrongfully ordered to depart and to speak when unlawfully ordered to be silent. The work may be most effectively done by remaining inside the organization. If all such men were to withdraw, the Church would soon harden and crystallize into a dead ecclesiastical formalism and instead of contributing to the healthy growth of society would check development and create the sectarian spirit. Its creeds would become like quartz crystals.

There has been in the past too much readiness to keep silent and withdraw. To it is due the extraordinary

breaking up of the Church into wrangling and discordant sects. To it is due the failure to study the problem and discover the true basis of unity. There was no sense in the separation into two great hostile camps as Romanists and Protestants with an impassable gulf between. It was ecclesiastical maladministration that caused it on the one side, and almost an eagerness to separate and set up on the other side a similar camp, in which at once the same ecclesiastical spirit appeared and the same specter of conformity stalked abroad. So it has been ever since until, in 1904, it reaches its climax in the demand for conformity on the narrowest and most singular basis that has been put forth by any one in four centuries.

But, the bishops say, what if all this be true, do we not represent a great majority in the Church and is this not conclusive? To this I reply that I do not know and that no one knows just what the real opinion or the mind of the Church is, because there has never as yet been any true freedom for the expression of that mind. But conceding that the bishops do represent a great majority, I do not consider it as of the slightest importance. What is true is true independent of all counting of heads. We must never be influenced in such matters by mere numbers. If the whole population of the world were so corrupt that out of a million of men only ten were healthy and intellectually and spiritually developed these ten men would be the true

and normal type of man and what was disclosed by them would be the hope and glory of the race. The fact that there are countless diseased men does not make health and vigor any the less a triumphant success. In all matters, intellectual and spiritual, there must be an ideal or standard, and this must be held independent of all mere counting of heads. The Protestant Episcopal Church embraces about one per cent. of the population of this country. While it has about 800,000, the Jews number 1,400,000, the Baptists 5,000,000, the Methodists 6,000,000, the Lutherans 1,800,000, the Presbyterians 1,700,000, and the Romanists 12,000,000. I think that the bishops will agree that in such matters we cannot reach any decision by merely counting people. We cannot apply in one way inside the Church a principle that universally applies in a different way outside of the Church.

The Church is a great organization possessed of vast resources which might enable it to render great services in that incredibly difficult task of humanizing society. To see this organization wasting its possibilities in a vain attempt to bolster up and perpetuate a decadent system of metaphysics and speculative philosophy seems to involve an enormous loss to the cause of humanity which every friend of that cause would gladly see avoided. To save the Church from the dead hand of the medieval past, to make it a great, living power,

helping to ameliorate terrible social conditions instead of applying its resources to the perpetuation of legends and myths, — this is an adequate reason for remaining in the Church. If it shall finally appear that the Church cannot be extricated from the ideas of mediævalism, the liberal element will in time certainly withdraw, and that Church which was one of the cradles of Protestantism will hereafter fall back into line with Rome, into which it may ultimately be absorbed.

The plain truth is that the liberal men remain in the Church not so much to be helped as to help. They know well the bitter prejudices they have to withstand. They expect no favors and no share of the patronage. They must be accused of heresy and dishonesty, but they will keep alive in the Church that on which its life ultimately depends, for it is true that the despised and persecuted remnant has in all ages been the pioneer band that has cleared the way for every advance. They do not expect any immediate results and they acknowledge that the odds against them are overwhelming, but still they keep on and believe that some day the seeds they plant are destined to produce fruit, but they do not expect to live to see it. In asking these men to be silent or withdraw, the bishops are virtually asking men who see through a sham to keep silent and be a part of it or to withdraw and leave them to rule over those who do not see through it.

When there were no intelligent men outside the clergy this was easy, for, if a man revolted, the ecclesiastical machine could punish him and the community did not know enough to realize the injustice and iniquity of it all. The rise of intelligence in the laity imperils and will finally destroy this ecclesiastical power thus to punish honesty and character. Let it then be frankly conceded that some of these men remain in the Church not to perpetuate ecclesiasticism but to destroy it as the enemy of true religion. From the inner ecclesiastical point of view such men are traitors, for they do not stand in with the ring for the perpetuation of privileges and emoluments, and this is and always has been the very core of ecclesiasticism. It is like the member of an ancient nobility joining the ranks of those who strive to elevate the people though it be at the cost of his own privileged class. He is willing that his title to honor should rest on services rendered. He recognizes *noblesse oblige* and feels that the only true way to preserve titles is to make them synonymous with effective leadership of the masses. If the order of nobility can be raised from the basis of mere exclusive privilege resting on force to the plane of high services growing out of larger resources and finer opportunities, then it is truly a proper distinction deserving of lasting recognition and sure to receive it. If it cannot be so raised, he feels that it will go, that it must go and that it ought to go. When he says this, his own class

denounces him as a traitor and such, in a sense, he is. Yet he is the only element in his order that is far-sighted and he is pleading for that change of spirit which alone can, in the long run, save and perpetuate the social privileges and distinctions of that nobility. He would render it truly and essentially noble instead of leaving it such merely in an artificial, traditional and conventional sense.

The medieval idea of nobility has become a sham clearly recognized by all reflecting men. As the mass increases in intelligence, all such technical and fanciful nobility is doomed unless it rises to a real plane of true nobility resting on the rendering of necessary and fruitful services and a profounder sense of duty than inspires ordinary men. The so-called traitor does not abjure the idea of nobility. He would merely seek to place it on a better foundation where it might always rest secure in the affection of the people honestly served and so conscious of the worthiness of the title. Ignorance in the masses perpetuates such a false nobility, while enlightenment and the growth of a discerning spirit imperils and, carried far enough, will shatter and destroy it.

It is just the same with ecclesiasticism, for essentially all privileged classes are in one and the same position. They have always stood or fallen together and so all these vast social and political forces are behind the ecclesiastics, who in turn are valuable and efficient

allies. The same influences that weaken one will impair the other. There is but one thing to be feared by either and that is increased and widely diffused knowledge, developing power of perception and judgment in the mass of citizens or laity, as the case may be. There was a day when the Church was purely imperialistic. The people were in bondage to the clergy, who stood between them and God as necessary mediators. The hierarchy held the keys of heaven and hell. The Church was evolved in the spirit of monarchy and privilege. Then came that great movement extending over six centuries, resulting in the democratic revolution in the State and the rise of individualism in the Church. Bishops are a survival of the old aristocratic form of Church government. They are the nobles of the Church, the privileged class among the clergy, while the clergy is a privileged class as against the laity. But the day when the clergy must bow in submissive silence before the bishop, when the laymen must speak with bated breath before the clergy, has passed away and is passing away. Unless they can demonstrate their value by services rendered, by a superior sense of duty, by exceptional consecration, they must steadily be less and less regarded as factors in social and religious life. The ideal episcopacy is one that will serve instead of ruling and tyrannizing, that will be of the people and for them as guides and overseers of organized life and work, that will be seen to be of the highest utility and convenience

when it has been shorn of its fanciful pretensions, that will be valued for what it is really worth as an aid in combining and rendering effective the earnestness and loyalty of the scattered individual forces of a great community.

One of three things is sure to come to pass. The reflecting men are finally going to leave the Church or it is going to be reconstructed in the most radical manner or the utmost liberty of interpretation is to be freely and openly conceded, and this in time will mean reconstruction along safe and sane lines. Present conditions are too anomalous permanently to continue. The entire problem has to do with intelligence and its treatment. It may be that the Church can safely disregard this element and still keep its hold on the masses. That remains to be seen. Is it probable that the masses will continue to accept what they will some day see has been entirely rejected by the educated and intelligent classes? Does not this minority finally fix the standard that controls? Is it not wiser and better so to meet this problem that all classes shall unite in one common organization and go along hand in hand for the general welfare?

It seems to me that something of this kind is to be realized or that the Church is destined slowly to fade away and to cease to be an appreciable factor in our civic life. In the absence of any clear and strong sense

of this peril on the part of the Churches the work of disintegration is going on rapidly. It is useless to cite statistics to show that it is not so, for we all know that the real trouble lies in the fact that all classes are concealing the extent to which they have lost belief in the old interpretations of creeds and formularies. The danger lies in the fact that the outer shell of appearance is so carefully preserved while inside such destructive agencies are at work. The remedy for this, if there be any, is in common honesty on the part of the Churches. It is puerile to hurl the old denunciations at people who no longer fear them. It is puerile to rely on shibboleths which have become meaningless, on conventional phrases which have lost all genuine vitality. If there is peril it is the result of a stubborn determination to resist facts and insist on the impossible. Silence is no remedy and indeed it augments the peril, for it deceives men as to its extent and lulls them to repose when the need of the hour is activity. They fail to see that behind this barrier of enforced silence "the flood of increased knowledge and new thought is rapidly rising and the barrier, honeycombed and in many places thin, creates a danger of a sudden breaking away, distressing and calamitous, sweeping away before it not only outgrown creeds and noxious dogmas, but cherished principles and ideals and even wrenching out most precious foundations." Entire freedom of interpretation will result in "the gradual and healthful dissolving away of

this mass of unreason sheltered by silence and allow the stream of religion to flow on broad and clear, a blessing to humanity."

Concealed and suppressed skepticism is a social misfortune, while openly to demand it and seek to promote it, as the bishops do, is a crime. Real truth need never rest on silence enforced under penalty. Whatever cannot bear exposure to all the intellectual light there is, that cannot bear the most rigid scrutiny, that cannot hold its own in a free and open field against all comers, is not true, for it lacks all truth's distinctive badges.

There is only one explanation of this demand for silence or withdrawal, and it is this,— that, whether a statement be true or false, if the Church has said it is true, it is to be always and forever so regarded. It is no longer open to investigation and discussion. Now there is no better way to discover what statements are felt to be unsound than to find out what are considered as needing a wall around them for their protection. No one is ever afraid of the most rigid scrutiny as to what he feels to be the real and true facts and indeed his sense of certitude, his deep conviction, rests upon the utter freedom for such scrutiny. To ask for silence concerning any alleged fact is but to proclaim your own skepticism concerning it and your inability to prove it. It is a direct confession that it is felt to be no fact at all.

The first duty of a man who seeks to interpret facts is to be sure of his fact. It is idle and useless elaborately to seek the meaning of something that is a mere illusion. The Latin Church has steadily resisted the investigation of facts, although they are the basis of all interpretation. This Latin spirit has been common to all our Churches of whatever name. It is a record of temporary success ending in every case in final failure. Man's greatest joy is to ascertain facts and then try to interpret them and reach their hidden significance. This is his intellectual life and this all the Churches have tried to suppress. Always has been in issue the right to private interpretation and the noticeable feature is this, —that they who in terms deny this right are just as much addicted to it as any one else. The plain truth is that among intelligent men it has been universally practiced. Probably not a single bishop holds in his own mind that crude theology which fills the minds of two thirds of his laity. Each one tries to think that he does and yet he does not simply because he cannot. Almost unconsciously each interprets and reaches his own way of understanding and explaining the multitudinous phrases and tenets. This interpretation is all that has saved the Latin theology for this class of men. "If words are to be taken in their rigid, literal sense as commonly understood by the people and are to be pressed without regard to common sense and historical and scientific

knowledge, it may safely be asserted that all are equally guilty, that not one clergyman can venture to throw a stone at another. They must all go out, from the great Archbishop to the humblest curate." It is an awkward, anomalous and incongruous situation. No man would ever have deliberately created it, but it exists and has existed for centuries. It is difficult, if not impossible, to secure alteration even of innocent anomalies. Every one is afraid of his neighbor and so all think and all keep silent, whereas if all came out into the plane of common honesty, a very great degree of unity would be discovered and all would find relief from a tension which at times is galling and wearisome. But this is regarded as simply an impossible ideal and so we must keep on as we are, each man reconciling himself as best he can to what he cannot reform or change.

Can any one read Cardinal Newman's writings and not see that he has created his own private interpretation of the theology of Rome, that in no sense does he believe what the mass of the people identify as Roman? He has idealized and spiritualized phrases and theories until he has made them just what his mind demanded. It does not matter what class name you call such a man, for he changes and idealizes all that he touches into a reflection of his own great personality. He found Rome an attractive peg on which to hang his idealism. Another finds such a peg in Presbyterianism or in some other "ism." The ordinary Romanist or Presbyterian

is common and uninteresting enough, but when a great soul happens to seize on the institution and clothes it with his own ideas, interprets it and spiritualizes it in his own individual way, men see it at once as something more splendid than they had before supposed it to be. The institution is nothing but a dead name until the prophet arrives with his special, private message. Between ordinary Romanism and the idealism of a Newman there is and can be no comparison. The true life and vitality of every such system is in the noble souls who have thus used it, who have thus explained, interpreted, idealized and spiritualized it. It is to all this that the reflecting man turns and by this he finds himself reconciled to what, unexplained, seemed repellent and false. This is what has saved and always will save all theologies. They truly live only in the throbbing, pulsating, enthusiastic interpreter who converts the dead formulas into burning coals of fire. Without all this, your creeds and formularies would be comparable to quartz crystals, clear and pure but cold and dead.

The private interpretation flows as a necessary and inevitable consequence of the rise of a great and commanding personality. He nominally attaches himself to some institution, but this is a minor factor, for what charms men is the expression he gives of himself as a fresh and new incarnation of the eternal spirit. Men cling to him because he explains and interprets what had been obscure and difficult. Above all technical

phrases rises the luminous spirit and this is essentially at one with all other expressions of that same force. We may apply to theology the Cardinal's own words about language: "The many use it as they find it, but the man of genius uses it indeed but subjects it withal to his own purposes and molds it according to his own peculiarities. The throng and succession of ideas, thoughts, feelings, imaginations, aspirations which pass within him, the abstractions, comparisons, conceptions which are so original in him, his views of external things, his judgments upon life and history, the exercise of his wit, his depth, his sagacity, —all these innumerable and incessant creations he images forth as the faithful expression of *his intense personality attending on his own inward world of thought as its very shadow*, so that we might as well say that one man's shadow is another man's as that the style of a really gifted mind *can* belong to any but himself. It follows him about as a shadow. His thought and feeling are personal and so his language is personal." In a strict sense, Newman was not a Romanist. He was himself pure and simple and is only to be understood as such. Rome could do nothing to save him, but he could help to save Rome. The institution sheds no glory on him, but he illuminates and glorifies it because he was willing to call himself by that name. He was called by her name, but he was never born of Rome. So it is with all Churches. It is not the Church that gives the ideas to

genius, but it is genius that gives ideas to the Church. The Church is not necessary to genius; genius is necessary to the Church.

Between men who are the slaves of literal terms and phrases, there is much bitterness and even hatred, but between men who rise into the plane of spiritual discernment of that which lies behind all words and phrases, between the spiritual interpreters of all systems, there is substantial sympathy and harmony. Thus an ultra-Broad Churchman may read much of Newman with a profound appreciation and even admiration, for he feels the true touch of the spirit. For the same reason the ultra-ritualist may recognize a kinship with Whittier, Emerson and Carlyle, with Ruskin and Browning. It is not that he wills to do so, but it is the unconscious recognition by spirit of its essential kinship with all spirit however and wherever it manifests itself. The fact that this is so will always operate to defeat the effort of those who in the main are the mere slaves of technical terms to control and dominate the Churches. Try as they may, they themselves will violate their own precepts and find themselves in sympathy with one who under their rules should be adjudged a heretic. It is only by being destitute of all consciousness of the spirit that they can escape this.

What all Churches need to do is to set free this great and mysterious force which we call personality. They ought to attract genius instead of asking it to withdraw.

To do this, they must concede the uttermost freedom of expression even if it throws the literalists into a temporary panic. What the real thought of the Church is to-day we know very imperfectly, for it is still too dangerous for men to speak freely. Render expression safe from social and financial penalties and we shall see a most wonderful manifestation of this mind.

III.

THE COMING FAITH.

WHEN we speak of the coming faith, we do not refer to something coming in a peculiar way to this generation but to an idea that has been slowly coming to popular apprehension for fifteen or more generations of men. In this long evolution our own day plays its part and that is all. By its coming we refer to its spread among the masses of men so that it shall affect and control social life as its presence in a few individuals never could permit. This sort of coming is on a large scale, portending great social changes in every sphere of life, transforming popular ideals and bringing its own peculiar perils. In a large measure it is indeed already here.

What we call the modern period of history began and grew out of a profound change in ideas concerning God and man, which meant a change in the way of looking at the world and man's place in it. The change at first came to a few and from these it slowly spread to the many and thus centuries elapsed before it affected institutions and changed society in any large way. It could, indeed, affect society only by reaching the men who composed it and thus for generations those

who first felt the coming changes were an isolated and persecuted minority, were misunderstood and distrusted by their contemporaries, so that they suffered all the consequences that flow from being out of harmony with popular environment. Only after a long period did the minority reach such proportions as to escape the sense of utter isolation and reach the plane of what was called toleration by the sluggish majority, but this stage of toleration indicates the spread of the idea and as it becomes more and more complete it tends to merge into an actual acceptance of the idea, and then institutions begin to change and the idea that had been despised and rejected tends to become the dominant note.

This intellectual awakening of Europe that marks the beginning of our modern historical period did not begin as a religious movement, for there was no conscious purpose of disturbing theological thought or changing the Church. It began merely as a new enthusiasm for literature, learning and art. Its aim was culture springing from a new estimate placed upon the things of the intellect. It was manifested by the rise of an inquisitive, self-reliant spirit, by the discovery of a new joy in living, by a new vision of the world and man's possibilities and capacities. It led to mental unrest, longings, strivings, aspirations that were felt to be new and great. Men under this influence developed a new enthusiasm and found irksome and repellent

the customary medieval asceticism and ecclesiastical restraints.

Modern history is the record of the rise and spread of this new spirit. It is the record of intellectual, industrial, social, artistic and literary development, an irrepressible manifestation of human instincts and impulses. That a theology which had been closely adjusted to the social status of the preceding centuries should fit the new spirit was not to be expected. The awakened mind discovered that neither God nor man had been adequately described or comprehended in that theology, and as every deduction of dogma was necessarily based on an idea of God or an idea of man, the entire system of theological thought would have to pass away if the new learning were ever to become universal. The so-called "new learning" was no more nor less than a new gospel and so far as it should conquer, the old would necessarily be displaced. While this was not at first intended and possibly not foreseen, it was impossible that men should acquire a new conception of the world and long retain without protest a religious system which was out of all harmony with that conception. This was soon perceived with great clearness and from that day the centuries have been a veritable battleground between the old medieval gospel and the new. Every weapon of repression, every form of coercion, has been used by the old system, and the end of the conflict is not yet in sight. But

we have seen steady progress. The Church began by putting the heretic to death, tortured him, burned him alive. This it was forced to renounce and it then imprisoned him with no limit of time. It was forced to renounce this and it then boycotted his business and deprived him of a chance to earn a livelihood. It was forced to give up this and it then excluded him from all social pleasures, made him a social pariah. It is being forced to give this up and now it occasionally tries him for heresy and expels him, but even the persecutors do not feel that he is a bad or lost man and even fear that their efforts have crowned him with laurel. They suspect that he may be a nobler and truer man in his heresy than they are in their traditional faith and comfortable conformity.

Now what does all this mean? When these men proclaimed a new gospel, was it really new, coined out of their own brains? Investigation proves the contrary. In a general way their action was only the rebirth of the best life and culture of classical antiquity, and on its religious side was essentially a revival of the early Christian Greek theology. They came to look upon life and its problems as did those men who had represented the best spirit of Greece. They found their inspiration and stimulus in a literature older than that represented by medievalism. They not only propounded no novelty but appealed to a conception

of God and man much older than that under whose authority they were persecuted. Medievalism was but the extension and prolongation of imperial Rome. In the new movement, her great rival, Greece, after more than a thousand years, rose to take from her the scepter. From the intellectual point of view it was as if the old Greek spirit had come to life. The struggle of the modern world was to be between the two ancient ideals. On the one side was Rome as imperial and autocratic against Greece as democratic; Rome as arbitrary and repressive against the Greek idea of intellectual and social freedom; Rome as dogmatic against Greece as rational; Rome as degrading and crushing the individual as against his exaltation by Greece. Thus the present conventional gospel is Latin and the new gospel is Greek, for modern thought is merely a tendency to revert to an earlier Greek system. Infidelity has been mainly a protest against the Latin theology, against a Latinized Christianity which the world has been outgrowing. By the term "Latin theology" we of course refer to that speculative philosophy which is the form into which religion was thrown by the genius of Rome. This has for fifteen hundred years been dominant through the long-continued ascendancy of the Latin Church and of all those organizations which, though they are formally separate from Rome, have yet continued to hold all her most essential ideas and modes of thought. Modern reli-

gious thought has been reproducing and expanding the essential ideas of an earlier theology, for there is hardly a point, on which there has been and is a tendency to depart from traditions and conventions, that is not to be found in that earlier Greek system.

The Latin and Greek theologies are based on utterly antagonistic ideas about the nature and functions of God and the nature and functions of man. These two concepts are in each case the germs out of which the systems have been evolved. Why is there such a radical difference? Why is it that of two intelligent men one believes in the Latin theology and the other believes in the Greek?

It is because they are looking at different sides of the same thing or taking different points of view. If we look solely to the masses of men we shall be inclined to agree with Latin ideas, for we shall see wretched destitution and hideous incapacity. We shall believe in coercion as necessary and man will seem to be the natural enemy of all truth and righteousness. Symbolism seems then to be necessary and mechanical methods alone seem to be available. Indifference, stupidity and sullen antagonism constantly claim our attention. On his purely physical and animal side man may be a terrible creature and may be truly described as lost. All this furnishes basis for a purely pessimistic theology which is made for and adjusted to these conditions. Helplessness is the predominant

characteristic. When such is a man's immediate environment, he will daily see what seem to justify and even necessitate Latin ideas and methods.

If, however, we look at man on his intellectual and spiritual side, see his literature, his science, art, empires, systems of law, philosophy and ethics; if we contemplate his mighty enterprises, his philanthropy and unselfish striving to advance the moral status of the world, we then say that man is the seat of a divine force and our theology becomes optimistic. But this is far away from the daily life of most men. It is only as they seek it in books that they ever come to a full realizing sense of how great and commanding man's record is. Moreover, life is not joyous except under favorable conditions. Learning does not thrive, science gives none of its marvelous visions, art and literature do not contribute their graces, unless conditions are right, and so it is only then that the true evidence of man's greatness is visible outside the records of the past. Despite the degradation of a man's immediate surroundings, he may always find this evidence of what his race has done and is capable of doing; but very few can do this, and so the mass of men must see the evidence in the life about them if they are to see it at all. Bad social conditions will therefore give rise to the pessimistic note, while prosperous, joyous, progressive conditions will in time evoke the optimistic.

Thus what we call Greek ideas rose in the most favorable social conditions that the world has yet seen. On the other hand, when the Latin theology finally took shape, it was a period of social chaos and extreme degeneracy. New and undeveloped races were then entering the Roman world. The great empire was reaching its last days, so that it was a time of weakness and decay. It was the old age of one civilization and the earliest childhood of another. Under these conditions the pessimistic note prevailed and the Greek with its optimistic, comprehensive, spiritual range disappeared not to return until the same social conditions which made its first appearance possible should render its reproduction inevitable and necessary. The Greek thought died out and disappeared when there were no longer social conditions to nourish and keep it alive. The Latin thought began to die as soon as changed social conditions began to give man again a wider and more hopeful vision, began to inspire him to use his powers and to yearn for freedom in which to develop them.

Now at the time when Europe saw the dawn of better days it was in the literature and ideals that had characterized the most favored days of the past that inquisitive men found their keenest delight, and so the growth of the new was closely linked with the old and seemed truly to be a revival of the old. We do not say that Greek ideas caused this movement but that when

men's minds did, for various reasons, begin to turn in a new direction they found a record, made by other men of a remote past, that so fitted these new conditions as to stimulate, guide and inspire the newly awakened mind until it seemed to be virtually a revival of these old ideas, which were so absorbed as to become its own. It was the reincarnation in living men of an old spirit that had long slumbered in books, hidden from the multitude and utterly forgotten. The dead past rose again in living men.

The most obvious fact in our modern history is the slow but steady improvement in the social conditions that has marked certain nations and it has been in these that the new faith has been coming and the old faith has been declining. In these, again, the new has been merely the faith of the active, capable portion of the people, while the old still lingers along as the religion of the backward and sluggish element in the State. A man who is himself ignorant, who knows nothing of history, has never felt the influence of literature and art, who comprehends none of the mysteries of science and at the same time is in social and intimate contact merely with the vicious or incapable classes of men, cannot possibly have a high conception of man, for there is before him no sort of evidence to justify or even suggest such ideas. The ruling classes seem to him to be essentially different from himself and his associates and this seems to be a plain fact for which

he has no explanation except that it is the will of God. Slowly the new ideas filter down into the mass and they bear just one message, — that all men have an innate capacity, that in this respect they are essentially alike, that this capacity needs favorable conditions for its development just as a plant needs sunshine, fertile soil and moisture for its proper growth, *and that it is possible to provide these conditions.* This belief creates in the mass of men a new and profound hope and determination. The ignorant, helpless father sees a chance for his boy to rise and be a part of this life that has seemed so far removed from him. Hence comes mental unrest and discontent with the old conditions. The hitherto sluggish and inert mass begins to have dim ideals and a dogged determination to realize these. It does not at first seem at all religious but merely a desire to get more out of life, to secure a chance to be something and somebody now and here. It seems like mere secular ambition but it is the tiny seed of a great spiritual and intellectual change. These men are coming for the first time to know themselves, for they are beginning to get a glimpse of the real nature and dignity of man. They begin to see that this life may be worth living for its own sake, that the joy and enthusiasm need not be despised and sacrificed in order to make sure of eternal life in another world, that men may think, investigate and develop this present life into

a great and noble thing without endangering the welfare of the soul. The father sees that changed social conditions do elevate his boys. These become a bit of living evidence which more and more convinces the multitude that the new idea is true, that God has not arbitrarily selected some and damned others but that it is the fault of the race itself that there is so much evil, sin, poverty and degradation in the world. It has not all been decreed by a God of whom men must be afraid. As all this goes slowly on, it more and more seals the fate of the old pessimistic theology.

Thus the coming of the new faith depends in a great degree upon the coming of new and better social conditions, upon improved opportunities for the masses of men, upon more adequate food, more suitable homes, upon a more wholesome environment in every way. Whatever produces such conditions leads to hope and aspiration in these masses and introduces gradually the optimistic note. Whatever gives men nobler and purer ideals leads in time to a more cheerful view and estimate of life, opens up new possibilities and awakens new enthusiasm. If, then, social conditions shall tend steadily to improve, the Latin ideas will as steadily decline, while if a marked and world-wide change for the worse should come, the Greek ideas would be checked and the Latin would in just that degree revive and

take on a longer lease of life. The creation of a better popular environment is an indispensable element for the development of masses of men. It is indeed mainly a question of favorable environment, and more and more to secure it for the hitherto neglected and oppressed classes is the one great passionate aim and purpose underlying most of the higher social activity of this modern western world. In a blind and imperfect way, the masses have caught glimpses of a great ideal and millions hope to reach and realize it who, prior to this modern awakening, saw no hopes held out to them except such as concerned another sphere of existence. That for all men life in this world should be a good and wholesome thing, worth having now and here, in and of and for itself, and that thus securing it now and here must be the best preparation for any future world, —this is the ideal, dream or vision of the Greek and it is certainly coming more and more to be the dominant characteristic of our own day.

But in the rise and spread of this new faith lies a distinct peril. If it be merely a faith in man and it receive no spiritual interpretation, whereby the true nature and real explanation of man's capacity is discerned, then it may degenerate into a mere sensuous delight in life, the mere pride of man in his powers and faculties on a purely material basis, ending in a sort of cultivated and refined animal existence along

the old pagan lines. Only as the new conception of man is linked with a new idea of God, only as life is interpreted on a spiritual basis, can such a faith result in a sane and wholesome type of life. To see this and to supply the theological and philosophic explanation is the crying need of this and the coming generations, for it is only thus that a genuine social peril can be avoided. A social cataclysm of luxury and mere sensual ideals can only be averted by lifting the whole matter up to the religious plane. Here lies to-day the true task for all religious organizations and upon its due performance rests the fate of all Churches and the future welfare of society.

A profound faith in man is the great fact in our modern life. It is surprising to see how deep and strong it is. Revelations of the most astounding fraud and corruption do not destroy it. Society seems to believe that all can and will be remedied and clings to the belief that men can and will arise who will cause a vast regeneration of social conditions. No matter what occurs to discourage and startle men and to make such an outcome seem hopeless, they appear to gird up their loins with a new courage and to cling even more passionately to the ideal. At such a time the spiritual interpretation is imperatively demanded for these men. This is the gospel they are blindly groping after, this is the message that will save men from mere materialism and commercialism. It is the

greatest call to duty and the greatest opportunity for service that has ever been presented to the religious minority.

They must reach the masses with a message that glorifies and ennobles life. They must so explain the faith in men that it shall become faith in God, must make man see that his marvelous powers are the result of an indwelling divine force which needs to be nurtured and developed for his own happiness and well-being. He must come to see that this force is God, incomprehensible and unfathomable and yet most intimate and personal, the very root out of which comes his individual existence, the source and explanation of all his power and capacity as human. As he acquires through education a capacity to use his reason, he must see that then for the first time he becomes truly man. He then feels a developed consciousness on which he comes to rely more and more. To his personal promptings and monitions he tends to attribute a deeper significance and so he truly becomes a new man. He no longer fears God and does not live in the dread of endless punishment; but he knows that everything great and precious in his life is the direct result of the presence within him of a mysterious potency — God.

The attitude of the Churches, under the influence of the Latin theology, seems to obscure and conceal

from view the true explanation of the mighty changes men see going on all about them. Phrases are still used that no longer fit the new conditions. The pessimistic theories are still advanced to meet the wants of men who are coming to be essentially optimistic, and the divergence is more and more clearly perceived and keenly felt. The stubborn adherence to the medieval message is a potent factor aiding and almost causing a material and sensual conception of the new faith in man, and so it stands in the way of the explanation which alone can lift these new ideas to a religious plane. Outside the Churches great forces are silently at work nourishing and justifying this faith but giving no spiritual interpretation of it. As, however, the new faith comes to be more completely established as a fact in the general consciousness, the day of its interpretation must come. The Churches represent and stand for the collective and spiritual sense of the race, and while some men may think that Churches control and make ideals, it is more true that ideals make and control Churches. All this goes on in its own psychical way and however impatient we may be, and however slowly and imperfectly the Churches may seem to rise to the task of interpreting the new faith, it is doubtless true that they move quite as rapidly as is wise, for their development probably corresponds exactly to the slowness with which the new faith becomes actually and vitally diffused among men. As yet the

masses see only dimly, vaguely and semi-consciously. It must always be remembered that Churches must deal with the masses and not with exceptional individuals, who are taken care of by literature to which as yet the masses have not access. The task that is before the Churches will be met when the conditions are ripe for it. To fret and chafe and scold because the Churches are not more perfect is the part of folly. They are just what the present stage of psychical development causes them to be and with this we must of necessity be content. To work for more enlightenment is our duty, but always with the full recognition that actual conditions are the result of the actual racial consciousness, of which all institutions are visible concrete expressions. Things could not now be better or other than they are, for they are the result of the interplay of all social forces, to which in his small way each individual contributes. Comment and criticism may be properly made as literature which ought not as yet to appear in the pulpit. Statements may now be properly made by those for whose utterances no Church is responsible and such expressions must, perhaps, precede the effective deliverance of the new message by the Churches in a formal way. All psychical development must move in its own way and in its own time. It is futile to try to check or to accelerate it in any large way. In such respects things are as they are and they will be as they will be. The

present movement has changed and is changing society, but, if it required fifteen or more generations to reach this present stage, it may take as many more to reach the culmination. In the presence of so stupendous an evolution, the life of the individual man seems but a span, and yet it has all been done, and is all to be done, by the labor of individuals, no one of whom sees but a tiny fragment of the entire arch which he is helping to build.

We have used these terms "Latin" and "Greek" many times as designating in a general way two systems of thought or two interpretations of the facts of life. We must now try to secure a more precise and clear understanding of just what these systems are. We must discover more accurately what are the two different points of view which they respectively represent so that we may come to have a more definite idea of what is meant when we say, in the field of religion and theology, that a man is a Latin or a Greek.

We have said that the coming faith is based upon and essentially is a revival and development of the early Greek theology. In that system the fundamental idea underlying and controlling all religious thought was the immanence of a divine force in nature and in humanity, disclosing itself throughout all history. God is this force indwelling in the universe and in the life of man. The Latin idea is frankly anthropomorphic.

God is conceived as a magnified, non-natural man somewhere existent in an abode infinitely removed from the world. He is the King of the universe seated on a throne, exacting the last degree of abject obedience, worship and adoration, and he will damn every man, woman and child to everlasting torment unless he be in some way placated. Hence prostrations, genuflections, agonizing supplications, a life of suspense and dread fear.

To conceive God as a Being whose favor is to be secured by certain rites or formulas or through the mediation of certain ecclesiastical dignitaries seems to a Greek an unworthy and degrading conception. That there is a God who made man and endowed him with reason, and that he will damn his creature for the conscientious use of this reason, if it leads him to reject the claims of a Church whose history has been marked in a large degree by fraud, corruption and hideous cruelty, — all this seems to the Greek incredible and horrible. That thinking along certain strictly prescribed lines is necessary, for a man whose whole nature cries out against those limits and who seems to be inspired to go beyond them, appears to be very unnatural and absurd. The Greek refuses to believe it, for his entire nature rebels against such a conception of God and tells him that it is not true.

To him God is exhaustless, universal force, without beginning and without end, eternally going forth into

self-manifestation as universal life under law that knows no break, suspension or change. This law is a part of the nature or innermost essence of the force. The universe is the aggregate of all the multitudinous and diverse manifestations. All thought and all study is devoted necessarily to these manifestations and is an effort to comprehend and interpret God.

From these radically different ideas of God flow two essentially different systems of religious thought. To the Greek the incarnation is the great and central idea. It designates a spiritual process that is and always has been going on since the history of man began, for that history is the record of the ceaseless effort of spirit to reach visible incarnation of itself. This, in fact, seems to be its necessary mode of expression. Men in the great aggregate, humanity regarded as one collective whole, represent at all times the degree in which this incarnation has actually taken place. To the fact that he is an incarnation of spirit man owes all that in him is great and commanding, for his psychical nature and all his peculiar capacity as man is due to this indwelling spirit. Incarnation is therefore not a rare and isolated occurrence but it is happening in some degree every day and even every moment. The very quality that constitutes our humanity is our susceptibility to spiritual influences. Our sensitivity, our capacity to be inspired,

is what determines our status as human, for this is the cause of every great and noble thought and ideal. The high type of man is essentially such an incarnation of God. For the creation or evolution of such a type all cosmic forces seem to operate. The Greek thus emphasized spirit as designating the active and essential divine force that is and always has been present in human beings as the cause and explanation of their humanity. Christ as a symbol designates the highest and noblest manifestations or incarnations of spirit in all human character everywhere and in all ages.

The Latin idea was that spirit was tied in its action to the ecclesiastical hierarchy and spoke only through its accredited representatives. The Church was the only depositary of the spirit's presence and it was made effective to man only through priestly mediation. They restricted the Christ idea to a single person out of all the millions who had lived, are now living or are to live in the future. They magnified exclusively a single historic personage as Christ who had come at a definite period of time and had departed, leaving all his powers vested irrevocably in the Church.

The Greek held that revelation was a natural and continuous process depending on human reason as its avenue of communication. The reason is a part of the immanent and divine force, the light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world. The Latin held reason to be dangerous and untrustworthy. Rev-

elation was one definite and final message delivered once for all to the saints, to be thereafter accepted by the world as handed down by an alleged sacred tradition and never to be increased, diminished or altered in any way or degree. Its only custodian and only interpreter was a close corporation called the Church. The Greek attached no mystical or magical importance to any such visible organization. There was in a strict sense no priesthood, sacrifice or altar. There was no idea of salvation as a privilege limited to those who were within the visible Church. There was no theory of apostolic succession, no absolute need of baptism, no dogma of original sin, total depravity, eternal punishment, no need of miracles as evidence of truth, no doctrine of sacramental grace and priestly mediation, no idea that any book whatever is of such an inspired character as to render it infallible and so a final utterance of divine thought. All noble literature was and is divinely inspired, for it is due to the divine force immanent in man that it exists. The Latin denied freedom of the will while the Greek saw that such freedom was in some sense a real, essential and unquestionable fact necessarily emanating from our consciousness. The Greek would have revolted with horror from the idea of the damnation of an helpless infant under any circumstances whatever, but the Latin held such fate as a divinely revealed certainty unless averted by grace secured through the Church.

The Latin ideas are really a survival of primitive thought, for man's first conception of God is as power, force or energy of which he is afraid. He experiences the earthquake, the cyclone, the lightning, and these suggest unlimited power, irresistible force in the presence of which he is appalled. He meets disaster and disease in countless forms and he feels that he cannot overcome or even resist these. He personalizes this force and calls it God, who rides on the clouds, whose eyes flash lightning, whose voice is the thunder, whose breath is the whirlwind. God thus conceived is capable of infinite wrath if offended, for he can send the plague and can smite with the thunderbolt hurled from his almighty hand. He can restrain the rain and cause drought, can send the mildew or an army of devouring locusts, can cause the crops to wither or make them rot. Plague, pestilence and indeed all disaster and disease appear then to be an affliction directly from God as a penalty for offenses. To discover what these are and how to escape punishment for them is religion in its early and universal form. Man must then learn what will be acceptable and he must do it in fear and trembling or the heavy hand of God will smite him and all that he has. He is in the hollow of God's hand and, if it closes on him, he is crushed and lost beyond recovery. This is essentially the Latin idea, and the real vitality and strength of that theology lies in the fact that it

is substantially in harmony with those very crude and primitive ideas as they still survive in the minds of the great masses of men. All the so-called religions of the world have, in their popular form, involved these two ideas of an offended God and a method of escape from his wrath. This method chiefly consists in observance of ritual and maintenance of a priesthood. Varying as they do in form and details, they all essentially come to this on a final analysis.

Man's psychical progress slowly disintegrates these ideas. As he observes, studies, reflects, correlates and co-ordinates facts, seeking to interpret his environment, he loses this sense of fear and lives in a new world. This is the rise of the Greek spirit, which is scientific and rational, which fearlessly investigates, scrutinizes and questions every fact.

But however much man may change his thoughts in form or contents he never loses his first idea of God as force, energy or power. Transformed the idea may be, but essentially it remains the same perception of the presence of force as manifested in all that surrounds him. The vast difference between the earliest, or Latin, and the latest, or Greek, conception marks the extent to which man has developed psychically. He comes to conceive God as having "no body, parts or passions" and the primitive idea in its popular form tends to pass away. He studies these manifestations in the clear consciousness that

thereby alone may he comprehend and interpret God. He does not cease to fear God merely because he believes that he has discovered the way to appease and placate him, but because he has come to see that there is no such God of whom he as a reasonable man ought to be afraid. He sees that there is no sense in such fear, no true and real basis for it. He sees that what he ought to fear is in himself, his own appetites and passions, his own sensual tendencies, his own selfishness, ignorance and prejudices. Here there is a solid basis for all sorts and degrees of fear and a true and real necessity for it. Conceiving God as universal law, he sees that he ought not to be afraid of the law, which is essentially beneficent, but that he must be afraid to disobey that law. Fear remains but its meaning is changed. The new fear is altogether a new thing. Where the old fear was superstitious, the new fear is reasonable. Where the Latin idea led to a feeling that all that was necessary had been done or could readily be done, the Greek idea disclosed a struggle that could only terminate with life itself. Where no development was called for by the Latin, the whole emphasis was placed by the Greek on constant, progressive development as alone the way to true and rational salvation. Where in the Latin scheme all could be done for the man by the priest, the Greek came with a call for man to fight his own battles and use his own personal capacity. The old fear was based

on God as a great, universal ruler guiding, directing and controlling by his arbitrary will all men and things. Man had no access to such a God except as he had in mercy graciously deigned to permit. Man had no knowledge of such God except so far as he had deigned to make a specific and definite revelation. Man had no relation to such God except so far as it might be created by compliance with the terms disclosed by revelation.

A rational interpretation of the term "God" ends all these ideas and connects man with God by ties which spring from God's very nature and so are a part of the universal law, ties which exist potentially, whether recognized by man or not. Religious progress in the Greek sense is therefore the constantly increasing consciousness of this fundamental and necessary connection between man and the eternal force which he calls God, a constantly increasing sense of the possible dignity of his own human nature and a sense of the possible loathsomeness of his own nature if it be degraded and corrupted through a failure to conform to the true law of his being. The term which symbolizes this progress and development of spiritual consciousness is the Trinity *when rationally interpreted*, for that term then denotes the summary of the developed conception of God and necessarily marks the end of the crude notions of primitive men.

If we now translate terms of theology and philosophy into the phrases of every-day life, we shall at once feel their true significance and practical importance. The great movement of this modern period has been the marked tendency toward democracy. This grew out of a revival of the old Greek conception of man and his life, for it rests upon a deep faith in man as a being essentially capable of righteousness but dependent upon environment for the normal development of his potential capacity. When men saw this they clamored for an opportunity to develop, for a chance to live rationally so as to secure something that might make life really worth having.

For long centuries man had been told he was a worthless creature, possessed of no spiritual capacity, and that he had a nature so essentially sinful that he had lost all right to anything except punishment at the hand of God. Politically, it was his one duty implicitly to obey his rulers, who had been directly appointed by God to govern him. Socially, it was his duty to serve those whom God had placed above him in the social scale, he being utterly unfitted by his nature to rise above his birth-rank. In religion he was a miserable, lost creature whose one chance of safety depended on obedience to priests appointed by God. Kings, nobles and priests were thus specially elected and favored by God, having a special power not gained by effort but magically infused into them by divine fiat. Man was so inherently

bad that he would destroy truth if he were left free to follow his natural impulses. Hence it was necessary to guard truth against man as its natural enemy and the elect classes were the divinely appointed guardians. Hence it was the primary duty of the State to compel recognition of truth by force. Coercion was a pious obligation laid on the saints and made necessary by the vileness of man's nature. The elect were God's vicegerents and as such were infallibly right. To dispute or deny this was impious. Except as specially elected by God to have capacity there was none in man. The masses were, as it was plain to see in the Middle Ages, leading a life marked chiefly by poverty and helplessness. As God made and maintained all things by mere arbitrary will power, he must have also ordained this and it was his decree that it should be and remain so, for otherwise he would at once change it, as he could easily do by merely willing it. In this there must, of course, be some mysterious and beneficent purpose. The elect might properly live in comfort and luxury for they were appointed by God to represent him, and he ordained for the elect this luxury, just as he ordained poverty for the multitude. Wealth in the hands of ordinary men was a snare and a peril, for rich men would be led to be disobedient to God's divinely appointed agents and for this they would merit and would receive eternal punishment. Obedience was the great thing, as this would secure salvation, and so whatever tended to create hu-

mility and submission in the presence of the divinely appointed guides and rulers was actually a blessing in disguise. The masses of men would be corrupted by prosperity, would lose the spirit of humility and deference and so be eternally lost. All ordinary men who got riches would, as a rule, be lost. Wealth was only safe in the hands of the elect classes, being then coupled with divine authority and needed for the exercise of the appointed functions.

The Latins therefore idealized and consecrated poverty, hunger, suffering and sorrow. In another world this was to be rewarded in a degree beyond all that can now be imagined. Poverty was the condition of sanctification, and Lazarus in the end would be superior to Dives, who was an ordinary type of the non-elect rich. This world was merely a time of probation for ordinary men, a vale of tears, a period of wrestling with all natural impulses and instincts, so as to be made miserable by the antagonism and it was this very misery that earned a celestial crown. To renounce this world and all that is beautiful and pleasant was the ideal. The evil was all meant to chasten and discipline the saints. Fevers and pestilences were punishments deliberately inflicted on man. To seek happiness here below was a crime. To despise and distrust one's self was true piety. To accept all with blind faith as inevitable and as intended to be as it was because so it would the better make for eternal glory — this was the badge of a saint.

The Greek denied that any class of men were divinely ordained to control and govern all the rest, whether in the State or in the Church. He declared the essential equality of nature in all men and he believed that differences in development largely grew out of differences in opportunity. One man was entitled to as good an environment as any other man and if this were impossible to achieve, it was at least possible to break down and remove artificial barriers and obstacles that stood in his way. Each man ought to have, at the very least, fair play and a free field. It was inconceivable to the Greek that God would elect some to luxury and some to poverty, some to education and some to ignorance, some to idleness and sport and some to crushing toil and sorrow. The trouble was not with God but with the selfishness and lust and passions of men, and for men to conquer themselves it was necessary to evoke the heroic and spiritual in man. The selfishness, lust and passion with which this world is filled is sin. To conquer this world is, in the Greek sense, to master this sin and establish in its place sanity, equity, justice and truth. The Greek therefore aspired to conquer this world instead of renouncing it. Instead of praying to have all this done for him while he waited passively to receive the blessing, he would rouse himself and go forth to work and struggle, conscious that he had in himself the power to accomplish the task if he would but exert all his strength. He did not believe in imputed sin nor in

imputed righteousness, but he did feel responsible for his own errors and crimes and he believed that the one remedy was to turn about, forsake those errors and, so far as he could, wipe out the evil results of his acts by earnest efforts of reparation. He felt that only thus he repented and made atonement, and this to him was real because it was personal and he felt that this uplifted him and led to true happiness. If he had injured his brother by fraud he would not seek the priest to confess to him and receive absolution, but he would seek the man he had wronged, confess to him and do what he could to obliterate the injury and secure his pardon and forgiveness from that injured man. He would extirpate poverty instead of idealizing it. When he finds evil he seeks to discover the cause in what has been done or failed to be done by man, what negligence about sewage has caused the fever, what fraud and selfishness has been lurking in high places to bring disaster upon thousands. If there is to be a millenium, he feels that it is to come by his efforts and those of his race. He seeks not to walk with angels and saints, singing hymns for endless ages, but he does anticipate and yearn for a time when intelligent co-operation will be substituted for blind competition, when in this world the crushing burden of sorrow and poverty shall be mitigated if not removed. All this he feels that he must gain not by mere fasting and prayer but by earnest, unremitting endeavor. He would preach self-reliance, faith in the

as yet but slightly realized possibilities of human kind. He believes in the patient toil of the many under the leadership of human genius and hopes to see some day a just distribution of the result under the guidance of a sanctified common sense.

Here is the antagonism. The Latin emphasizes a future world, the Greek emphasizes this world. Pray, wait and receive, says one. Study, work and win your reward, says the other. Religion, says the Latin, is the preparation for another world and is of course a mistake if there be no other world. Religion, says the Greek, is preparation for securing and realizing in a sane and sensible way the fulness and richness of this life here and now, believing that the development thus secured must be the best preparation for all other worlds and a wise course to pursue whether there be such other world or not. Obey, says the Latin, the sacred traditions crystallized and fixed ages ago. Obey, says the Greek, the living spirit as it comes to men to-day, illumined by all the experience of the centuries. Believe, says the Latin, in a definite and completed revelation made once for all. Believe, says the Greek, in an ever-progressive revelation coming to the race more and more perfectly as time flows by. Believe, says one, in a revelation from an external source given to you, passive and receptive. Believe, says the other, in a revelation coming ever through the development of man's own divine powers and faculties as the result

of his own psychical activity. The Latin stands for the past because it is the past. The Greek stands for progress as being the evidence of the ever-living divine force in man himself, urging him ever towards a higher level. Man, says the Latin, is a miserable worm, in whom is no health or strength. Man, says the Greek, is a wonderful being in whom are always locked up all sorts of divine possibilities. Man can do nothing, says the Latin. Man must never believe that there is anything he cannot accomplish, says the Greek. Man is far from God, says the Latin. Man, says the Greek, is in direct and immediate touch with God, because in him, as a part of his very nature, is the immanent spirit which makes him all that he is as human and renders possible all his glorious achievements. Sever his connection with God through this immanent spirit and he would cease to be man and would fall to the level of the beast. The Greek has confidence and faith in man as thus possessed of this abiding divine spirit force without the mediation or magical ministrations of any priest or Church. It is his immediate inheritance and it is this that makes man able to create and do all that during the ages is recorded in history as great or sublime.

The coming faith is this belief in man as essentially possessed of a nature capable of divine possibilities when naturally and normally developed, due to the presence of this spirit within him. This which we call

the modern spirit is essentially the old Greek spirit, and it will find its theological and philosophical basis in those ideas and conceptions which flow from the perception of God as immanent, forsaking all that theology, so long prevalent, based on the perception of God as extra-mundane. Towards this all our western world has been slowly moving for centuries. It is changing all our daily thoughts, giving us new and different ideals and working a social transformation in which lies all the hope of the struggling masses of men. This modern world demands chance for the fullest development of all human faculties, the freest play for all human aspirations, believing that man's redemption from sin is to be won by using the divine force immanent within him. Men are ceasing to believe in any magical transformation of character by priestly methods. When man sees that he is a part of the spiritual universe, he realizes that he is truly in immediate and instinctive communication with its inmost essence and that, if he will, he may be in harmony with the cosmic powers that surround him. Continual endeavor is the one road to redemption. The true function of the Church is to stimulate and guide this endeavor, and to succeed in this, the Church must be pervaded with an abounding faith in man's inherent spiritual capacity. It must discard all quarrels over dogma and preach the immanent God, the infinite Spirit in whom we live and move and have our being.

Among the Hebrews the Shekinah, which meant dwelling, was the symbol of the divine presence, the visible revelation of God, something which was divine but was not God. Chrysostom, the Greek, said that the true Shekinah was man, who is the temple wherein is revealed the inscrutable mystery of a divine force. The aim of all religious effort is to awaken this force, the heroic and spiritual element that slumbers in every heart. Man is the Shekinah of God and the divine glory has been, is and evermore is to be, revealed upon and in man. This is the old Greek idea and it is the coming faith of the world.

APPENDIX.

THERE are here cited a very few but very weighty and impressive utterances which presage the coming Reformation. They have been designedly selected so as to cover many distinct types of serious thinkers and various religious bodies.

Rev. Arthur P. Stanley, Dean of Westminster, said (Life, II., pp. 238, 239):

"We are on the verge of a religious revolution, one more gradual, I trust, and therefore more safe, but not less important than the Reformation and ending, I hope, not in further divisions, but in further union.

"I agree with you that the prophet of the second Reformation has not yet appeared. Perhaps he never will. But that a second Reformation is in store for us and that the various tendencies of the age are preparing the way for it, I cannot doubt, unless Christianity itself is doomed to suffer a portentous eclipse."

Bishop Phillips Brooks said (Life, Vol. II., pp. 416, 463–465, 502, 503, 668; Essays, pp. 103, 195, 197; Sermons, V., pp. 28–30):

"The Christian world has already entered upon and gone far in a movement which is certainly to be not less

profound and full of meaning than the great Reformation of three centuries ago. Christianity, as a book religion, resting on the infallible accuracy of a written word; or as a propitiatory religion, providing a mere escape for hopeless culprits; or as a doctrinal religion, depending on the originality of some statements of truth, — all these aspects of it fade.

"In that, which is generally and vaguely designated as the 'New Theology,' I think we ought thoroughly to believe. Every advancing age must have a new theology. I believe that the new is better than the old. The new theology in all its general characteristics I love with all my heart. I am more and more sure that the dogmatic theology in which I was brought up was wrong. Henceforth I am an old Greek. Orthodoxy must be compelled to know its very inferior importance and to keep its very inferior place. As a principle of action or a standard of belief it is obsolete and dead. The time will come when a new Luther will be needed for the next great step that humanity must take. Luther's very being was a reassertion of the divine idea of humanity. Through him the old lies withered and humanity sprang upon its feet. His message involved the whole truth of the immanence of God and of the essential belonging of the human life to the divine, the whole truth that God is a power *in* man and not simply a power *over* man — in which lies the seed of all humanity, all progress, all great human hope.

"The difference between the old faith patched up and made habitable and a new faith where men, with hearts wide open to the truth, may go in and live without fear, — this is the difference between the two sets of dreams which men are now dreaming. It is impossible

that the old conditions, so shaken and broken, can ever be repaired and stand just as they stood before. *The time has come when something more than mere repair and restoration of the old is necessary. The old must die and a new must come forth out of its tomb.*

"The aspirations of our Church are to the habits of our Church like the old oak to the flower-pot. The aspirations are too big for the habits in which they are now trying to live. Sooner or later the aspirations have got to break the habit or the habit will stifle the aspirations. The flower-pot has got to break under the pressure of the growing oak or the oak has got to die or else live perpetually stunted within the poor flower-pot which it values more than its own life."

Rev. A. V. G. Allen, Professor in the Episcopal Theological School in Cambridge, Mass., and the official biographer of Phillips Brooks, in his volume entitled "Continuity of Christian Thought" (pp. 2–5, 8, 11, 19, 33, 34, 180, 241–243, 307, 317), states:

"From the alliance of Greek philosophy with Christian thought arose the Greek theology. For a time its influence was felt and acknowledged, but there finally arose, under the influence of Augustine, a peculiar theology with which the Greek mind could have no sympathy, whose fundamental tenets it regarded with aversion. It appears at every point as an inferior rendering of the earlier interpretation of the Christian faith. It made possible the rise of the Papacy. We now behold a tendency to revert again to the true interpretation from which the Latin was originally a falling away. Modern infidelity is mainly, perhaps exclusively, a protest against the Latin theology. It is not Chris-

tianity itself which is to-day obnoxious to serious men, but a Latinized Christianity which the thought of the world has outgrown, while it is still perpetuated in the formal attitude of the Churches. It is not till we get back into an earlier age, before Christianity was translated into the Latin idioms, that we can discern another interpretation and see religion as it appeared to men who were living and thinking under intellectual conditions more similar to our own than any intervening age has since exhibited.

"The ancient Greek theology, as it was developed from the second to the fourth century, differs at every point from Latin theology, as it received its final impress from Augustine in the fifth century. His tenets have been for so many years identified with divine revelation that it requires an intellectual revolution in order to attain freedom to interpret correctly. In the second and third centuries the most favorable conditions existed for the development of Christian thought. Not only was the Greek genius still at the height of its powers but it had renewed its life on foreign soil. Alexandria had become more thoroughly Greek than Athens in the days of its renown. For the first time in history thought was absolutely free. No dominant religious conviction could hinder the freest inquiry, no fear of persecution repressed the utterance of obnoxious tenets. The limits of thought were as boundless as the flight of the human imagination. This rare conjunction of intellectual freedom and of the intellectual capacity to improve it was not of long duration, but before it had vanished, to reappear only when ages had rolled away, it had given birth to Christian theology. That favored moment in the history of thought gave the outlines

of a theology which could never be rivaled or even appreciated at its true value till, in an age like our own, the same conditions which made its first appearance possible should make its reproduction a necessity. The resemblance between the second century and the nineteenth has been often noted. The tendencies of what we call modern religious thought have been reproducing the outlines of an older theology while we have been unconscious even of its existence. There is hardly a point on which there is to-day a disposition to diverge from the traditional theology which has not been anticipated by the Greek fathers.

"The age before the Reformation reveals the Latin Church in a state of hopeless decline. *This implied the ultimate abandonment of that system which is known as Latin Christianity.* It rose when men were unable or no longer free to think for themselves. It drew to a close when men once more were able to resume the office which in their weakness they had delegated to a priesthood. The reason and conscience of humanity had outgrown the Papacy and refused to be held by its leading strings. There were elements of hope in the attitude of reformers in the sixteenth century which were not fulfilled in the age that followed. In the seventeenth century there was no divergence in principle from the scholastic theology of the Middle Ages. Indeed it seems as though the aim of the leaders of thought was to return as near to the spirit of Latin Christianity as was possible without actually passing the line that divided the hostile communions. *But the formal Protestantism of the seventeenth century, as represented in its orthodox systems of theology, maintained within itself the seeds of its ultimate dissolution.*"

Rev. F. W. Farrar, Dean of Canterbury, in his "History of Interpretation," said (pp. xi–xviii, 7, 10, 358, 425, 431):

"A scholastic orthodoxy developed elaborate systems of theology out of imaginary emphases by the aid of exorbitant principles of inference. Some of these causes of error are removed, but we still meet the shadows of the old systems. They will only vanish when the light of God penetrates into the deep recesses of the shrine. History is a ray of that light. A great part of the Bible is history and all history rightly understood is also a Bible. Its lessons are the divine method of slowly exposing error and of guiding into truth. History has positive truths to teach as well as errors to dispel. It may show us the stagnation which poisons the atmosphere of theology when progress is violently arrested and freedom authoritatively suppressed. It may show us the duty and necessity of that tolerance against which, from the first century down to the present day, Churches and theologians have so deeply and so continuously sinned. It may show us, above all, that the strength of the Church is not to be identified with the continuance of methods which have been tried and found wanting, or with the preservation of systems which have been condemned by the long results of time. Truth rests on something far different. We must believe that to us as to the holy men of old the Spirit still utters the living oracles of God. We are not bound passively to abandon to others the exercise of our noblest faculties nor to shut our eyes to the teachings of experience. It is our duty with fearless freedom to follow in all things the guidance of reason and conscience.

"'A man may be a heretic in the truth, and if he believes only because the assembly so determines, without knowing other reason, though his belief be true, yet the very truth he holds becomes his heresy.' So spake the lofty soul of John Milton. 'He who makes use of the faculties which God hath given him and seeks sincerely to discover truth will not miss the reward of truth. He that doeth otherwise transgresses against his own light.' So spake the serene wisdom of John Locke. Could we listen to manlier voices? But if we look rather for orthodox authority its best teaching will be of the same tenor. 'For men to be tied and led by authority as it were with a kind of captivity of judgment, and, though there be reason to the contrary, not to listen to it, but to follow like beasts the first in the herd, — this were brutish.' So spake one whom the Church once revered — Richard Hooker. 'Reason can and it ought to judge, not only the meaning, but also of the morality and evidence of revelation.' So spake one whom we still profess to revere — Bishop Butler.

"'No apology can be required for applying to the Bible the principles of reason and learning. It must be examined by the same laws of criticism which are applied to other writings of antiquity.' So wrote Bishop Herbert Marsh. 'Whatever is against right reason, that no faith can oblige us to believe. In all our creed there can be nothing against reason. If reason justly contradicts an article it is not of the household of faith.' So spake Jeremy Taylor, one of the most distinguished bishops of the Church. But with freedom there must be progress. It is nothing short of a sin against light and knowledge, against the Holy

Ghost, to stereotype, out of the pretense of reverence, the errors of men who were not illuminated by God's Spirit more than we may be and who in knowledge were hundreds of years behind ourselves. Revision is rendered absolutely necessary by the ever-widening knowledge of modern days. Theology must reckon with this infinite desire of knowledge which has broken out all over the world, with this rapid and ever-rising tide of truth which she is impotent to stay. The humblest Christian may claim his share in the illumination promised to all and may therefore refuse to resign into the hands of usurpers, however venerable, the indefeasible rights of the human reason and the indefeasible duty of the human conscience. He must not confuse revealed facts with theological notions. He must not permit long-tolerated errors to put on the air of abstract truths. He will sweep aside all arbitrary glosses of which he can trace the genesis and divine the object. To refuse the plain teaching of advancing experience may be a more essential blasphemy than to reject humanly invented theories.

"The Reformation broke the old scholasticism, but the Protestant Churches introduced a new scholasticism whose rod was of iron. It soon parted company with free learning, turned its back on culture, held out no hand to awakening science and lost itself in a maze of theological controversies. Therefore it has crumbled into the dust.

"It is necessary that we should read the handwriting of God written upon the palace walls of all tyrannies, whether secular or sacerdotal. We must learn that there is nothing so dangerous as the strain to keep things fixed when all the world is, by the very law of

its creation, in eternal progress. We must see the hand of God in current events and understand the thoughts which he is expressing by the movements in the midst of which we live.

"Have we no reason lighted by God, and lighting to God, *res illuminata, illuminans?* Have we within us no voice of conscience, the aboriginal vicar of Christ, a prophet in its informations, a monarch in its peremptoriness, a priest in its blessings and anathemas? Have we no Spirit to guide us or has he abdicated his office? Is it not absolutely plain that anything in the Bible which teaches or seems to teach anything which is not in accordance with love, gentleness, truth and purity is not God's word to us, however clearly it stands on the Bible page? Whenever we are quoting it to stimulate the energy, to alleviate the misery, to promote the happiness of mankind, whenever we are able to use its words as arrows of lightning to slay corruption or to shatter oppression, robbery and wrong, then we are right. But when we use it to oppose science, to stimulate hatred, to check progress, to crush independence, to buttress tyranny, then we are using it for the injury of mankind and therefore not to promote but to hinder the will of God."

Rev. R. H. Newton was Rector of All Souls' Church in New York City for some thirty years. In 1885, he said in a sermon:

"Let it be frankly conceded, from a standpoint within the Church, that the doctrines of Christianity present in their traditional forms fair objects for denunciation. It requires no great learning to discover, in the material woven into their outward bodies, bits of very ancient

pagan superstitions. The whole structure presents to the modern mind a quaintly antiquated appearance, like that of some building whose type of architecture has forever passed away, and whose usages have become well nigh forgotten in the changes time has wrought. As a venerable antiquity, a rather ruinous tower well overgrown with ivy, it is sure of our respectful interest, but an invitation to make it our home must receive our courteously firm declination, while a command to build no other house for our souls will only provoke us, unless a rare grace checks our speech, to frankly point out its utter lack of modern improvement. It is not our fault if our eyes are open to the fatal defect of the traditional formulas as the interpretations of the infinite and eternal mysteries. They deserve every blow they receive. As formulas of faith, their best service now to mankind is to gently die, and so leave room for a nobler growth of thought around the heart of these old and sacred faiths."

This sermon made a profound impression and there was much talk of a trial for heresy. A few weeks later Phillips Brooks wrote to Mr. Newton (Brooks' Life, II., p. 559):

"I am glad to know that we are not to see your real work hindered and the Church disgraced by a presentment and a trial. I am sure that the work which you have done is one for which you may well be thankful, and for which those who love our Church most wisely may rejoice. You have done very much indeed to keep the mind of the Church open to the light. Whatever God may have to say to her you have made it more possible for her to hear. That is a great work for any man to have done. We certainly cannot be surprised

that such a work excites anger and opposition. I wish you would rest yourself for a Sunday by coming on and staying with me and preaching in my Church. Any Sunday that you will name I shall be delighted to see you."

Brooks also said (Life, II., p. 419):

"I suppose that Heber Newton and his agitation is, after all, only a symptom. The whole theological world seems to be awakening to the need of a new discussion and settlement about its sacred Book. His face is toward the light. And certainly no mischief he can do can begin to equal the mischief which must come from the *obstinate dishonesty of men who refuse to recognize any of the new light which has been thrown upon the Bible and go on repeating assertions about it which, if there is such a thing as proof, have been thoroughly and repeatedly disproved.* These are the men on whom the Church in future must look with reproach and almost with contempt. If the man who thinks as soberly and earnestly as he thinks has no place in our Church, then alas for the Church."

Rev. George A. Gordon, an orthodox Congregationalist clergyman, in his book entitled "Ultimate Conceptions of Faith" (p. 74), says:

"Within the last twenty-five years in Great Britain and in New England, the traditional theology has passed away. Like the ice fields that move south these traditional beliefs have disappeared, melted under the power of the new intellectual climate into which they have floated. In the far north similar fields exist, and in the polar regions they always will exist in absolute safety, for in certain latitudes beliefs that cannot endure

elsewhere are completely secure. They are embalmed in ignorance; they are shielded by excess of darkness; they are increased by atmospheric frigidity. From Calvinistic Scotland there has floated out into nothingness a great body of obsolete divinity. There has been no controversy about it. Progress has, like a flood, carried it away. The same is true of English non-conformity. The traditional theological system has silently passed out of belief. Religion there is in abundant happy power, but for the new religion there is only the promise of an adequate theology. In New England and in all the enlightened portions of the country the same fact is obvious. If we regret it, the regret cannot mend the state of affairs. Within twenty-five years, a body of theological opinion which had endured, with only minor modifications, for fifteen hundred years has become obsolete. Not, since the beginning of preaching, has there been any time so hard upon the educated and honest minister."

Rev. Borden P. Bowne of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Professor of Philosophy in Boston University, says, in his little books called "The Christian Revelation" (pp. 31, 90, 93, 95, 104, 106) and the "Atonement" (pp. 34, 60, 101, 106):

"The easy-going optimism of the past and the naïve anthropomorphic interpretations of the world are daily growing more difficult. The detailed dogmatic constructions of the past are no longer possible and we have to confine ourselves to the more general insight into what God is, and what he means, and to the effort on our part to realize the divine kingdom on earth. A large part of traditional theology has been little

more than an exegesis of misunderstood metaphors. An immense amount of historical theology, for which many texts could be adduced, has drifted away forever because it rested on an obsolete way of thinking about God and the Bible. We have no longer a dictated and infallible Book, but we have the record of the self-revelation of God in history and in the thought and feeling of holy men. The traditional theories have been an incongruous compound of inconsistent speculation and halting exegesis. A good part of exegesis consisted in reading the Scriptures in the light of traditional dogma and thus often reading into them doctrines undreamed of by the Scripture writers themselves. The moral nature had few rights which theology was bound to respect. The claims of the Divine Sovereign were the supreme thing and were determined in accordance with the political absolutism of the time. The God of Love nowhere appears, but in his place was a Being very jealous for his own honor and careful to exact the uttermost farthing. The entire operation was carried on in a fashion unpleasantly suggestive of an Almighty Shylock. Thus an indefinite amount of sophistication and moral hocus-pocus was introduced into the theory of the Atonement. How slowly do we free ourselves from the notion that God is a stickler for etiquette, that certain rites and formulas are necessary to secure his favor and that only certain persons can effectually administer or pronounce them — a notion which, intellectually and morally, is on the level of sorcery and incantation! Indeed, except for purposes of punishment, God has hardly been a moral being at all. Built on the Epicurean model and concerned especially for his own claims, God was little more than

a magnified medieval ruler or Oriental despot. As long as we conceive God as sitting apart in supreme ease and self-satisfaction he is not love at all but only a reflex of our selfishness and vulgarity. As long as we conceive of him as bestowing blessings upon us out of his infinite fulness, but at no real cost to himself, he sinks below the moral heroes of our race. Theology may conceivably transcend the intuition of conscience, but it may never contradict the enlightened conscience."

Rev. Levi L. Paine, for thirty years Waldo Professor of Ecclesiastical History in Bangor Theological Seminary, near the close of his career, in his volume entitled "Evolution of Trinitarianism" (pp. 180, 227, 251), says:

"But as to the old dogmatic traditionalism that has come down to us with all its gathered inheritance of pagan, monkish, medieval and popish superstitions and beliefs, this age is intensely skeptical. The refusal to accept the dogmas of the old orthodoxy was no more widespread or complete in the first years of the Christian era or at the outbreak of the Reformation than it is to-day. Ask men and women why they have ceased to attend Church, and they will tell you that they have ceased to believe much that is preached and that their religious needs are not ministered to. All this simply means that we are nearing the end of the present theological era and are on the verge of radical change. This is dimly seen by not a few, but men still fail to realize that the time for superficial changes is past and that all the signs point to the vastest intellectual and spiritual revolution that has yet transpired in history. It is

not an old building, rebuttressed and reconstructed in its upper stories, that this age demands, but a new building from the very foundations.

"But some one will ask with a real concern, 'Do you mean that the old metaphysical and theological systems of our own theological fathers, that have been wrought out so conscientiously and have been venerated as the very strongholds of Christian faith, are to become useless and obsolete?' Certainly, yes, must be the frank historical reply. Has it not been already shown that this new age of ours is not merely a new cycle in an old evolution but one of radical revolution? What is this radicalism if not one that works down to the very roots and bases of the old evolution and starts anew? The new theology must be radically new, for it must start and build on a new principle. That principle in one word is induction, which is that law and method of discovering truth which proceeds from the particular to the general, from individual facts ascertained by valid evidence to higher and wider generalizations as drawn out by valid logical processes. This is the only basis of any sound philosophy. It is what is known as the scientific or historical method. Our whole modern civilization is built upon it. Everything else except theology has adjusted itself to the new inductive law and method of investigation. Traditional orthodoxy is thus forced into sharp and radical antagonism to the ruling inductive spirit of the age. The whole traditional theology with all its unverifiable assumptions must go to the wall. It is not the great and essential religious truths themselves but the way in which they have been shaped and distorted in a system and mixed with all sorts of errors mythological,

legendary, Jewish, pagan, that makes the old orthodoxy, as a system of truth, a thing to be rejected and cast away."

Professor William James, Professor of Philosophy at Harvard, in "Varieties of Religious Experience" (p. 448), says:

"We must therefore bid a definitive good-by to dogmatic theology. In all sincerity our faith must do without that warrant. Modern idealism, I repeat, has said good-by to this theology forever."

Andrew D. White, President and Professor of History at Cornell University and also a statesman and diplomat, in the preface of his "Warfare of Science with Theology," says:

"I simply try to aid in letting the light of historical truth into that decaying mass of outworn thought which attaches the modern world to medieval conceptions of Christianity, which still lingers among us a most serious barrier to religion and morals and a menace to the whole normal evolution of society. For, behind this barrier, the flood of increased knowledge and new thought is rapidly rising and the barrier, though honeycombed and in many places thin, creates a danger of a sudden breaking away, distressing and calamitous, sweeping before it not only outgrown creeds and noxious dogmas but cherished principles and ideals and even wrenching out most precious religious and moral foundations of the whole social and political fabric. My hope is to aid in the gradual and healthful dissolving away of this mass of unreason that the stream of religion may flow on broad and clear, a blessing to humanity."

Professor Thomas H. Huxley, the eminent man of science, said in a letter to his wife, written in 1873 (Life, I., p. 427):

"We are in the midst of a gigantic movement greater than that which preceded and produced the Reformation and really only the continuation of that movement. But there is nothing new in the ideas which lie at the bottom of the movement, nor is any reconcilement possible between free thought and traditional authority. One or other will have to succumb, after a struggle of unknown duration, which will have, as side issues, vast political and social troubles. I have no more doubt that free thought will win in the long run than I have that I sit here writing to you or that this free thought will organize itself into a coherent system embracing human life and the world as one harmonious whole. But this organization will be the work of generations of men and those who further it most will be those who teach men to rest in no lie and to rest in no verbal delusions."

Matthew Arnold, Professor at Oxford University, a serious thinker and one of the most distinguished of English laymen, says in "Literature and Dogma" (preface) and in "God and the Bible" (pp. xii, xix, xxi, xxxix):

"An inevitable revolution, of which we all recognize the beginnings and signs, but which has already spread, perhaps, farther than most of us think, is befalling the religion in which we have been brought up. It cannot be but that the revolution should come. To restore religion, to reinthrone the Bible as explained by our current theology, whether learned or popular, is abso-

lutely and forever impossible, — as impossible as to restore the feudal system or the belief in witches. Let us admit that the Bible cannot possibly die, but then the Churches cannot even conceive the Bible without the gloss they at present put upon it and this gloss, as certainly, cannot possibly live. It is not a gloss which one Church or sect puts upon the Bible and another does not. It is the gloss they *all* put upon it and call the substratum of belief common to all the Christian Churches and largely shared with them even by natural religion. It is this so-called axiomatic basis which must go and it supports all the rest.

"The assumption with which all the Churches and sects set out can never be verified. Whatever is to stand must rest upon something which is verifiable. This preliminary assumption governs everything which in our current theology follows it.

"I have always thought that merely to destroy the illusions of popular Christianity was indefensible. Time besides was sure to do it, but when it is done, the whole work of again cementing the alliance between the imagination and conduct remains to be effected. To those who effect nothing for the new alliance but only dissolve the old, we say that soon enough will the illusions which charmed and aided man's inexperience be gone; what have you to give him in place of them? Undoubtedly it is not easy to reunite man's imagination with his virtue and conduct, when the tie between them has been once broken. And therefore there will always be well-meaning people who say, 'Why meddle with religion at all? Why run the risk of breaking a tie which is so hard to join again?' And the risk is not to be run lightly, and one is not always to attack people's

illusions about religion merely because illusions they are. But at the present moment two things about the Christian religion must be clear to anybody with eyes in his head. One is, that men cannot do without it; the other that they cannot do with it as it is.

"That a story will account for certain facts, that we wish to think it true, nay, that many have formerly thought it true and have grown faithful, humble, charitable and so on, by thus doing, does not make the story true if it is not, and cannot prevent men after a certain time from seeing that it is not. And on such a time we are now entering. The more we may have been helped to be faithful, humble and charitable by taking the truth of this story and others, equally legendary, for granted, the greater is our embarrassment, no doubt, at having to do without them. But we have to do without them none the less on that account.

"Mr. Moody's audiences are the last people who will come to perceive all this; they are chiefly made up from the main body of lovers of our popular religion, — the serious and steady middle class, with its bounded horizons. To the more educated class above this, and to the more free class below it, the grave beliefs of the religious middle class in such stories as Mr. Moody's story of the Covenant of Redemption are impossible now; to the religious middle class itself they will be impossible soon.

"The free thinking of one age is the common sense of the next, and the Christian world will certainly learn to transform beliefs which it now thinks to be untransformable. The way will be found. And the new Christianity will call forth more effort in the individual who uses it than the old, will require more open and

instructed minds for its reception; and this is progress. But we live at the beginning of a great transition which cannot well be accomplished without confusion and distress."

James Russell Lowell, Harvard Professor, Diplomat, one of the serious thinkers and most eminent of American men of letters, says (Scudder's Life, I., pp. 143, 170):

"The Church has corrupted Christianity. She has decked her person and embroidered her garments with the spoils of pagan altars and has built her temples of blocks which paganism had squared ready to her hand. The very cross itself, to which the sacred right of private judgment fled for sanctuary, has been turned into a whipping post. The names of infidel and heretic are the *san benitos* in which we dress offenders in the nineteenth century and a bigoted public opinion furnishes the fagots and applies the match. The Church, that great bulwark of our practical paganism, must be reformed from foundation to weathercock. Now that it has become necessary to protest against Protestantism, it is the ignorant and unthinking who are so eager to mob all who differ with them."

Rev. Henry Ward Beecher said in 1885, in his "Evolution and Religion" (pp. 5, 24, 78, 432, 437):

"The ruling systems of theology are inferential, artificial, and philosophically they are imperfect or false. It is these systems which foresee the danger to themselves and cry out against the new light. It is a familiar thought that the unbelief of to-day is the faith of to-morrow, and yet to-day always condemns

the premature to-morrow. The skepticism of honest men unfolds the truth and becomes the conviction of the aftertime. The theology that is rising upon the horizon will still rise. I cannot hope that it will be the perfect theology, but it will be a regenerated one and I think far more powerful than the old. Ours is a time of loosening of faith, when men are beginning to feel as though they had been fooled, when they are letting go the ruder and more imperfect presentations of the truth. I do not know that there ever was a period in which men were so unsettled as they are now concerning the nature and existence of God. There is no use in hiding these things. A great many men feel that if you take away from the common people these old views and substitute new ones you will have destroyed their faith. I tell you that you are a great deal more in danger of destroying faith by not explaining these things. If there is any danger of separating men from their belief it is not in giving them the truth. It is a thousandfold more dangerous to conceal from them the actual historical facts. Do you suppose that the stars were destroyed when astronomy was corrected? Men had their notions and those were all swept away, but it did not destroy the stars. Men had their idea of the origin of the earth. That idea was swept away and new ideas came in its place and we are the better for it. To all those clergymen who are standing tremulous on the edge of fear in regard to the great advance that God is making to-day I say, While you are not to be too rash nor make haste unduly, you must be sure to meet the Lord when he comes, when he is at work in natural laws, when he is living in philosophical atmospheres, when he is shining in great

scientific disclosures, when he is teaching the human consciousness all around. You are bound to accept him in all the new ·rments that he wears and to see the habiliments of Christ grow brighter and nobler from age to age as he puts on righteousness and comes in all the glory of his kingdom towards us. You, young men, are beginning life at a period when the divine disclosures will set aside the mists and darkness of days gone by. Discern the signs of the times and see in the face of the sky the promise of God's coming day."

Rev. Washington Gladden, orthodox Congregationalist, in his book entitled "How Much is Left?" (p. 26), says:

"For one I firmly believe that modern thought is laboriously building up a foundation for our faith far more firm and broad than that on which men rested their souls in what were known as the ages of faith."

Rev. Dr. Norman Macleod was over the famous Barony Church in Glasgow for twenty years and was her Majesty's chaplain for Scotland. He wrote, in 1872, in the last entry in his journal just before his death:

"Where is the germ of the Church of the future? In what Church? In what creed? In what forms of government? All our old forms are as effete as old oaks, although young ones may grow out of them. Neither Calvinism nor Presbyterianism, nor Thirty-nine Articles, nor High Churchism, nor Low Churchism, nor any existing organization can be the Church of the future."

Professor George A. Coe, in his "Religion of a Mature Mind" (pp. 34–37, 83, 89–91, 180), says:

"The thought of our day is casting aside the ragged coat which Protestantism inherited from Rome. There is, however, a chasm between what the scholar knows and what the people are officially taught. The public has become aware that a new view of the Bible, entertained by men of learning, contradicts the view taught or assumed in the Churches. Something must be done soon or we shall be in the scandalous fault of believing one thing and teaching another. The Church can survive many mistakes but she must be above the suspicion of insincerity. The inner principle of all the Churches has in it a life that is bursting the bands of exclusiveness and bringing in a higher unity. This will ultimately require of all of them that they surrender their own individualism in order to found a world-wide, visible fellowship. Fear has practically ceased to be an influential factor, for the modern man cannot be scared by the thought of death or of the judgment. Authority tends to disappear and in its place comes an appeal to the heart, the conscience and the reason. The old syllogistic procedure fails to convince. This denotes a departure from the *formulas* that grew out of the Reformation, but is it not just the plain man's way of applying in his own life the Reformation principle? That movement came up out of the hearts of the people as their assertion of the rights of free personality. But it knew not how to formulate and secure those rights. It could not separate itself from the inherited notion of God as monarch and of ourselves as passive subjects. Religion continued to be thought of as coming down upon us rather than as springing up within us. It was a law *for* life but not a law *of* life."

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